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Soviet Inspectors Arrive in Italy

LD1411142188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1357 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Rome, 14 Nov (TASS)—A Soviet inspection group arrived in Italy today in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty to scrap intermediate-range missiles. The first visit by a group of Soviet Inspectors was completed in August this year.

Scholz Cited on Support for 'Nuclear Deterrence'

LD1411063088 Moscow TASS in English 0617 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Bonn November 14 TASS—West German Defence Minister Rupert Scholz has voiced for one more time in support of the NATO "nuclear deterrence" strategy. As he put it, Europe's true security cannot be ensured without it in the future.

The head of the Bonn military establishment addressed an international symposium on strategic issues opened in Munich. Attending the symposium sponsored by the Hans Seidel Fund, which belongs to the Christian Democratic Union, one of parties of the Bonn ruling coalition, are representatives of several West European countries, and also the United States and the Republic of South Africa.

Scholz argued that nuclear weapons were a political weapon which should be reduced down to the needed minimal level with account of the existing threat. He spoke out univocally for updating both nuclear and conventional armaments. In this connection, the minister warned against making rush preliminary decisions that could obstruct the implementation of the plans to modernize American nuclear missiles with a range of up to 500 kilometers in Europe.

There is common knowledge that there is no unity in NATO on this issue since this modernization will complicate the dialogue on disarmament problems which has gone under way between the East and the West, the dialogue that produced the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty.

The minister favoured an early beginning of the talks on cutting back armed forces and armaments in Europe. He underscored the importance of drastic asymmetric reductions in the main types of armaments down to equal upper levels that would be lower than the existing level of NATO conventional armaments.

Chernyshev on Scholz Speech, NATO Strategy

LD1511101488 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—By TASS military news writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

West German Defense Minister Rupert Scholz has made a speech at a symposium on strategic issues in Munich. Once again he declared his support of the "nuclear deterrence" strategy. Real security in Europe cannot be ensured without it, he said. The West German minister also supported modernisation of both nuclear and conventional armaments by the NATO member countries.

Such an allegiance to nuclear weapons can be considered only as a manifestation of the outdated approach to war as a means of attaining political goals, as the desire to build mutual relations with other nations and states through threats, armed force and readiness to use force.

Contrary to any logic, some Western representatives continue speaking of nuclear weapons as "a guarantor of peace" and asserting that nuclear weapons are the only reason a third world war has not broken out. Wouldn't it be more logical to suppose the other way round: Had there been no nuclear weapons, mankind would not have found itself on the brink of catastrophe at certain moments of the past? No world conflict has so far broken out, but who can guarantee that this won't happen in future, even though as a result of a technical fault or a wrong assessment of intentions of one of the sides?

Is the "non-nuclear" guarantee of security impossible? It is certainly possible. It can be attained through a policy of reasonable sufficiency, which implies that each side should have the least possible quantity of weapons—sufficient for defense, but insufficient for attack. The nuclear component and chemical weapons should be fully ruled out.

In the West they frequently justify "the need" for preservation of nuclear weapons by asserting that nuclear weapons allegedly make it possible "to compensate" for the Warsaw Treaty's advantage in conventional armaments. But there is no such advantage, and the overall balance is not disrupted by asymmetries and imbalances in some types of conventional armaments, which are established in some categories in favour of the East and in others—in favour of the West. But one cannot be pleased with that. Therefore the USSR and its allies insistently propose to exchange data on conventional armaments and troops, to determine imbalances and asymmetries and to remove these particular imbalances through joint efforts and then to sharply reduce the level of military confronation.

It would seem that such possibilities should be taken into account by Western partners in dealing with the question of the future of nuclear weapons on the continent. A clearly verified balance at a sharply reduced level in conventional armaments and troops could be established in Europe owing to joint efforts of the East and the West. What will NATO's nuclear weapons then "compensate for"?

Nevertheless, even when calling for immediate negotiations on reduction of conventional armaments and troops in Europe, as Rupert Scholz did in his speech, Western representatives reiterate again and again the thesis of the need for the preservation of nuclear weapons on the continent.

It appears that the time has come for the North Atlantic alliance to review this long outdated strategic concept, which was adopted in the "cold war" period. There are too many alogisms and outdated stereotypes in NATO's policy.

West's Claim of 'Defensive' Doctrine Criticized

PM1411114588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Military Sciences, Reserve Major General L. Korzun under the rubric "Military Commentator's Observations": "Not Passing Black Off as White"]

[Text] Addressing the USSR Armed Forces Military Staff Academy on 1 August 1988, U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci stated: "America is not aggressive in the military sphere because democracy is not a doctrine that can be imposed by force." Let's give it its due: It sounds good. I readily allow that Carlucci himself sincerely believes what he says, since the magic of words is so great. But any assertion, no matter how aphoristic it may sound, remains no more than fine, empty words if it lacks convincing evidence, and not just verbal evidence but evidence in the realm of practical fact.

You cannot fail to notice the following phenomenon. While every-day experience shows that you cannot make people with normal eyesight believe that black is white, there are quite a few instances in politics where black is portrayed as white and vice versa. True, in time history puts everything back in its rightful place. Sight is nevertheless recovered, although it is often a tough process.

Many bourgeois politicians and military figures make particularly dogged attempts to pass black off as white and vice versa regarding the nature and essence of the military-political doctrines and strategic concepts of the United States and NATO, on one hand, and the USSR and the Warsaw Pact on the other. These include assertions about the "defensive objectives and nature of U.S. and NATO policy in the military sphere" and the "offensive character of Soviet military doctrine."

Judging by the statements made by many leading NATO figures, the North Atlantic pact is a purely defensive alliance concerned solely with defending against the aggressive aspirations of the Soviet Union. Thus NATO Secretary General M. Woerner claims that "the NATO alliance has made the very greatest possible concession in renouncing from the very outset the capability of attacking an opponent. It merely has the ability to defend itself, and no more. The alliance has quite consciously not only proclaimed the concept of minimal deterrence but has also carried it out in practice."

Fairness demands that I say that recently at least the emphasis, if not the vocabulary itself, has been changing somewhat in the West. Thus, while not abandoning the notorious notion of a "Soviet military threat," serious figures and information agencies in NATO countries nowadays prefer to talk not about the "treacherous preparation by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact allies for surprise aggression" against a "defenseless West Europe" but merely their hypothetical "ability to launch a surprise attack thanks to their military superiority." One is as bad as the other, as it were, but all this is a kind of reaction, albeit quite inadequate, to the officially proclaimed defensive nature of the Warsaw Pact countries' military doctrine which finds copious practical corroboration.

The reaction is far from appropriate to the doctrine itself. Attempts are made to question its fundamentally defensive nature. Here official documents, theoretical studies, practical measures in the sphere of military building, the nature and content of operational and combat training, proposals to hold joint detailed discussion of military doctrines, proposals to lower the level of military-strategic parity and remove imbalances and asymmetries, and so forth are all discounted. All this is either declared to be undeserving of belief or is simply passed over in silence.

On the other hand, allusions continue to the effect that "the Russians are continuing to arm themselves, and the configuration of their forces is quite obviously offensive." Such a "knockdown" argument as the basing of Soviet bridge-laying units and subunits in forward positions or the emphasis on the number of Soviet tanks and artillery are also brought into play. John Galvin, supreme allied commander of NATO forces in Europe, indefatigably repeats that "nothing has changed yet" in the Warsaw Pact countries and that he "hears many new things but sees nothing of them." A surprising but in its own way predictable vision impairment.

Quite a lot has changed in U.S. and NATO military-political doctrines and strategic concepts in recent years. But their anti-Soviet thrust has remained invariable. The desire of the Pentagon and NATO countries to see the world through the sight of a gun remains invariable.

It is no accident that in the numerous NATO maneuvers a surprise attack is considered the most likely means of launching a war. The U.S. FM 100-5 ground troops field manual, which reflects the basic tenets of the American "air-land" operation concept, clearly lays down: "We must seize the initiative and neutralize the enemy's combat capability in complete depth by means of an offensive against his combat formations, effective use of combat might, and decisive forward movement of troops." The same is envisaged in the NATO concept of "follow-on forces attack," adopted by the bloc 4 years ago and known as the "Rogers plan."

One asks, then, wherein lies the defensive nature of the operational-tactical directives? This question is even more applicable to the sphere of strategy. Thus U.S. Vice President-elect Quayle stated while a candidate for that post that the Soviet Union must be "pressed" by every means and demanded a further buildup in NATO offensive potential.

The desire to boost the offensive potential, and specifically the offensive potential, is also shown by the plans to modernize armaments and develop new prototypes and kinds of arms ranging from tactical to strategic. Thus it is proposed that a new missile with an operational range of up to 500 km be created to replace the old Lance missile. Galvin has stated that he would agree to cuts in NATO nuclear artillery independent of the situation at the East-West talks provided he was given new, enhanced intermediate-range armaments, such as air-to-surface missiles launchable from bombers outside the enemy's air-defense zone.

"Asking the United States to cut its Navy is equivalent to asking the USSR to eliminate its road and rail network," Carlucci has said. But why, one asks, does the United States need Poseidon and Trident SLBM's capable of delivering around 6,000 nuclear munitions over several thousand kilometers, and long-range Tomahawk cruise missiles in order to protect what are indeed vitally important sea routes? It is well known that they are intended not for the defense of sea lanes but for a first (preemptive) nuclear strike against very important political, administrative, economic, and military installations on dry land.

The recent Pentagon approval of the development of a qualitatively new nuclear weapon specially designed to hit underground command and communications centers by initial deep penetration of the warheads into the earth and their subsequent detonation is far from being in the interests of defense. The U.S. Air Force decision to resume work to create a special ground-based emergency radio communications system designed to convey instructions from the U.S. military-political leadership to strategic offensive forces during a protracted nuclear war is also bound to cause alarm. These are all links in a single and very dangerous chain.

As for the configuration of the deployment of armed forces, then, leaving aside naval groupings, it is quite enough to cite the 1,600 U.S. military bases and facilities in 34 countries, where more than 500,000 servicemen are stationed. A total of 1,000 bases and facilities, including 270 major ones, have been created in the European zone. More than $9 billion has been appropriated for military building in the United States in 1989. A considerable part of those resources will go toward building and modernizing military installations, including those in Europe.

These few facts are far from bearing out a defensive nature in U.S. and NATO military-political doctrines or a corresponding thrust in the building and training of their armed forces.

One should neither diminish nor exaggerate the danger of the imperialist forces' military preparations. But it is necessary to be thoroughly aware of them and to carefully analyze and correctly evaluate them in order to invariably ensure observance of the principle of defensive sufficiency, which is one of the main elements of Soviet military doctrine, and to expose the attempts to pass black off as white.

CEMA Adviser on Establishing Common Market

LD0811001088 Moscow International Service in Polish 1400 GMT 25 Nov 88

["First part" of report on commentary by Sergey Ugarov, CEMA Secretariat adviser, entitled "On the Road to the Common Market"]

[Text] Public interest in the creation of the common market of CEMA states has increased in socialist countries. Proof of this can be seen in, among other things, an increasing number of press articles and an increasing number of letters from listeners who want to know why the question of such a market has come up and what should be done so that it can be created, what are its beneficial effects, and so on. This and other questions are answered by Sergey Ugarov, adviser of the CEMA Secretariat. To begin with, the creation of such a market has been under discussion for a long time. Now it is really taking shape. The issue here is the decision by a number of the CEMA states during the last session of the council in Prague concerning the gradual creation of conditions for shaping the common market.

But first, let us try to answer the question of why this issue emerged at the present stage of cooperation. Life proves that if we want to cooperate more efficiently in the economic sphere, we must create all the conditions for ensuring the efficient activity of the most important economic link, that is the enterprise, the link which manufactures and which, first of all, is interested in selling the manufactured goods—and this should be the most profitable selling.

This issue does not look too promising at present. Here is just one example: Let us suppose that an enterprise produces goods in excess of the half-year plan or masters new products in which another country is interested. The enterprise cannot sell them because trade contracts have been signed. So where and how can these goods be sold? There is just one answer to this question, Sergey Ugarov says: Conditions must be created for the free flow of goods among CEMA states. This is easy to say, but how should it be done?

Let us look at how matters currently stand. Who are the trade partners? They are states represented by foreign trade ministries. Groups of mutually supplied goods and the quality and quotas of goods are defined by bilateral trade protocols. The quantity of goods is described in such a way that the costs of supplies are more or less the same. To sell or buy something over that quantity is practically impossible. In accordance with the established quotas of goods, the planning authorities establish the size of their supply by the enterprises of CEMA states.

The prices of mutually supplied goods are described on the basis of the world average in the past 5 years. As experience proves, they often do not correspond to the production costs. The trade exchange is then strictly restricted. The enterprises, on the other hand, as we have stated, as the basic link, are practically detached from it. What is more, in the event of a shortage of goods they are not interested in coming out to world markets, because this requires production of good quality. This is why both the quality and the technical advancement of goods do not keep pace with world market requirements.

But when the enterprises have the possibility of free, unrestricted sale of their products, the situation will change. An enterprise interested in the sale of its products will take care to increase the quality and saturate the market with new models. We see, then, that the real need emerged to start economic mechanisms in not only in the internal but also the external sphere. The issue is to draw the enterprises into wholesale trade in the external market.

Other methods of free exchange of goods exist; for instance, the development of trade excluded from quotas, the border-zone trade, exchange operations among particular regions of the countries, and so on. So the current issue is the broad involvement of enterprises in foreign trade, and just such a task is ahead of the CEMA countries. In most European CEMA countries, laws were therefore adopted giving the enterprises and their associations rather a broad margin of rights in foreign trade contacts. For example, choosing a foreign partner, signing contracts with him, and setting prices for goods supplied are done independently. They also have the right to benefit from the large part of foreign currency revenues for their own needs.

Enterprises which enter into direct cooperation will, of course, aim at producing high-quality goods. Therefore, technological innovations will also be introduced more quickly. It is a reliable method for eradicating the shortage of goods. At the same time it is the first step toward the creation of the common market.

West Tries To 'Fan Mistrust' of Soviet Reforms

PM1511095788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Political Observer's Notes": "The Weak 'Position of Strength'"]

[Text] Fresh winds of change are blowing across the planet, engendering great hopes for a bright future. These hopes are nourished to an enormous extent by the restructuring in the USSR. The intensive democratization of our society, the development of glasnost, and the growing dynamism of Soviet foreign policy are seen by the people as factors with great international consequences. The main thing is that people are inspired by the belief that the walls of past mistrust, suspicion, and enmity will crumble and that the opportunity is emerging for taking far-reaching steps toward imparting a new quality to the worldwide process of disarmament.

In the opinion of Austrian Federal Chancellor F. Vranitzky, "on the emotional level the ground has never been prepared so well for disarmament in recent history as it is now." J. Dean, former head (1978-1981) of the U.S. delegation at the talks on mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe, notes that "important changes are taking place in the Soviet Union, and the cold war policy is dying down in Europe." He comes to the conclusion that the opportunity is being created to smash the outmoded confrontational military order that has persisted for more than 40 years in Europe. "Weapons-oriented thinking" is also being rejected by increasingly broad strata of the population in other regions of the world. In the United States, too, public opinion is slowly but surely seeing through anti-Sovietism and dumping the cliche of the "Soviet military threat."

But this course of events does not suit those who are stuck fast in the ice of the cold war and who continue banking on a "position-of-strength" policy. These circles experience flat-out terror when faced with Soviet restructuring. And how! For decades they have been reiterating that socialism is a society of "social immobility," completely bereft of dynamism and incapable of offering the masses an alternative attraction to the "free world." Now, however, the people are faced with quite a different picture. This means that the untenability of not only the doctrines of anti-Sovietism but the political guidelines based on them is being revealed.

But what alarms those circles the most is that the myth of the "Soviet military threat" is beginning to be dispelled. The bugaboo of "Red militarism" has been unfailingly used for 7 decades. I don't know whether there are computers capable of accurately calculating how many trillions of dollars, marks, francs, and pounds have been pumped out of taxpayers' pockets into arms magnates' safes. This source may now begin to dry up. Everywhere the demand is growing that the gigantic resources which could be used to forestall environmental catastrophe and eliminate hunger or large-scale infant mortality, should no longer be wasted.

The proponents of a miltarist policy have no intention of accepting this prospect. The image of the enemy must be preserved at all costs—that is their goal. Since the old cliches no longer work well, new "arguments" are being hastily invented. Yes, restructuring is universal in the USSR, they are forced to acknowledge—except, they rush to add, in the military sphere.

During his visit to the USSR last summer U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci, after visiting a number of our military installations and meeting with Soviet military chiefs, repeatedly stated that "accessibility and openness were striking." Yet he maintains that "we in the West have still not noticed any slowdown in the continuing buildup of Soviet military might." John Galvin, supreme commander of NATO allied forces in Europe, speaking in Bonn the other day, assured people that the "restructuring taking place in the Soviet Union has not affected the military sphere." FRG Defense Minister R. Scholz, who accompanied the federal chancellor during his visit to the USSR, claims that the Soviet Union is seeking a dominant position in the world on the basis of its "military superiority." Statements by NATO Secretary General M. Woerner are couched in the same vein. Meanwhile British Defense Secretary George Younger has made a startling discovery: He states that "Soviet efforts to eliminate nuclear weapons from Europe threaten our security rather than build confidence on the continent."

As we can see, these are not individual, isolated statements but part of a single, purposeful line. Its objective is obvious: to discredit restructuring in the USSR, stem the universally rising wave of sympathy and interest in the homeland of restructuring, and again fan mistrust in a country that is putting forward more and more peace initiatives. But the authors of these statements are most of all intent on shoring up at any price the collapsing fiction of the "Soviet military threat" to slow down the process of military detente and delay talks on reducing strategic arms, nuclear and space weapons, and conventional weapons in Europe.

The smokescreen of invention surrounding the USSR is also needed to cover the continuing buildup of the military machine in the United States and other NATO countries. Reports have recently appeared in the U.S. press that the U.S. Strategic Air Command is completing the drawing up of a new draft operational plan for waging nuclear war in conditions following the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Based on the fact that new weapons systems are appearing in the Pentagon's arsenals, the plan defines new targets on USSR territory. For its part, the U.S. Congressional Budget Office has drafted a report which provides for several feasible options for improving NATO armed forces in the period after the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles comes into force. That is what is really behind the new fabrications about the USSR.

As for the Soviet Union, restructuring does not, of course, sidestep its defense building. Soviet military doctrine has always been defensive in substance. Under restructuring it is also increasingly clearly demonstrating this quality in terms of its form.

However, the task of ensuring our planet's security is not being tackled in a vacuum: Various factors, including the presence of the other side's far-from-peaceful plans, have to be taken into account when addressing this issue. If the West's military leadership has any questions on this score, the best way to remove them would be to compare NATO and Warsaw Pact military doctrines, as has already been repeatedly proposed by the USSR and the other socialist states.

Scholars Discuss 'Common European Home'

LD1111181488 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—The "common European home" concept, prospects of its realisation and methods thereof were in the focus of the meeting held here today by the Bureau of the World Economy and International Relations Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences. It was attended by leading Soviet international affairs scholars.

"Creation of a 'common European home' is a major historical experiment involving cooperation between the two world systems," it was stated by Vitaliy Zhurkin, director of the Europe Institute under the USSR Academy of Sciences, who opened the meeting. In his opinion, the European Continent is the most favourable area for promoting such cooperation due to its objectively existing cultural and historical community.

The meeting participants noted the contradictory character of the ongoing processes in the European Continent, which are liable either to help overcome the split in Europe, or, on the contrary, to deepen it. Realisation of the "common European home" concept may turn out to be a decisive step towards overcoming the continent's military and economic confrontation, its replacement by a system of general security and cooperation.

The speakers mentioned among the principal requisites of the "common European home" concept such elements as political detente, radical reduction of armaments, transformation of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO armies into purely defensive forces, joint solution of ecological problems, implementation of a common platform in the sphere of human rights, democratisation of relations in the humanitarian sphere.

It is the view of Soviet scientists that special place in this process belongs to economic relations raised to a qualitatively new level. "Positive shifts in the political sphere must be corroborated by a broad development of economic cooperation among European states. CMEA-EEC cooperation could be one of the most promising directions in this respect," corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Yuriy Shiryaev holds.

Conference on Socialism Focuses on Economics

PM1111155188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Oct 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by A. Krushinskiy: "Who Will Hold the Trump Cards? Notes on an International Conference of Academics"]

[Text] "Thank you, Comrade Tserendorj. Comrade Pham Van Pho will now take the floor," Academician Aganbegyan, who was in the chair, announced.

It was the third and final day of the international scientific conference on "Topical Problems of Contemporary Socialism." Section "No 1," which had attracted the most participants, was in session: "Questions of the Theory and Practice of Socialist Management and Experience of Economic Reforms."

Only 3 or 4 years ago an event of this kind would probably have been a tedious experience. Each delegation would have adopted a rigid, prescribed stance, and speeches would have been peppered with quotations. But on this occasion people expressed personal viewpoints and argued over them. It was genuine pluralism of opinions.

The Buffalo as a "Stooge of Capitalism," or Problem Areas of the Economy

The speaker who had just come to the rostrum did not disappoint the audience. Vietnam's problems, as was apparent from his account, are approximately the same as those in a number of other socialist countries (only they manifest themselves even more acutely): low labor productivity and goods shortages, giving rise to all manner of abuses and undermining the prestige of people's power.

What are the causes? The academic cited an example from the times of collectivization, when peasants were prohibited from keeping buffaloes on their plots. An eminent Soviet economic academician came and was amazed: fields, greenery everywhere, but no animals to be seen. "The buffalo is a means of production," they explained to him. "Who knows, with a means of production a peasant might get rich...."

"So who in Vietnam was the 'malefactor,' who was threatening to 'restore capitalism'?" Pham Van Pho asked the audience, barely keeping a straight face. "The buffalo?"

The audience stirred: Many could see the absurdity of it. Both the Bulgarian on my left and my compatriot on my right remember the battle that was waged against horses, cows, and sheep in our countries. Was it only these animals?

The report by V.A. Medvedev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which was delivered on the first day of the conference and set the tone for the debate, expressed concern about the state of affairs in the present-day socialist economy: The advantage over capitalism in terms of the development rate has been lost, and there is a lag in new areas of technology. There is a pressing need to substantially update and deepen our notions of the economic foundations of socialism. In particular, it is necessary, on the basis of the whole of world experience, to reinterpret the problem of commodity-money relations and the relationship between plan and market and to eliminate the alienation of people from public assets, which occurred in the past.

Many of the speeches that followed in the sections and at roundtable sessions were unorthodox and distinctly trenchant. The scholars criticized the administrative-edict system of management and the principles of the expenditure-based economy. Is it right to identify state property with the property of the whole people?—this, for example, was a question posed by Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Vice President I. Iliyev: In fact, society and labor collectives are alienated from the means of production, which are handled by the state through its own organs.

The impressive volumes of production capital created in the course of industrialization are being used inefficiently, speakers pointed out. Objective economic laws have been forgotten. Or rather, they are beating a path over artificial obstacles, but... in the form of the "black economy." Economic reform is a vital necessity. But its fate depends not only on good will "on high," but also on the willingness of the "lower levels" to implement it.

"One Against Seven," or How Do You Support the Innovator?

There was one striking feature of the conference: heightened interest in the media.

The very phenomenon of glasnost came under scrutiny. The participants in one of the sections spoke to the effect that enhancing the role of the press, radio, and televison is an important sphere in the improvement of the way of life. Finally, the scholars repeatedly used facts from newspapers and television programs to corroborate and argue their theoretical credos.

In his analysis of the economic reform problem, P. Ploszajski, director of the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, started by relating a television debate he had seen. It was about the proposed closure of a Polish cement plant due to unprofitability. "How can it happen—closure of an enterprise with traditions going back 60 years!" the first participant in the debate said. "I remember the smoking chimneys when I was a child," he was supported by another. "The country needs cement," a third said. A fourth talked of the plant's cultural enlightenment mission, a fifth said that if they closed it people would have to take refuge in the church's embrace. Yet another threatened a strike, while a party organizer warned that communists would demonstrate by giving up their party cards. Only one objected: "A plant whose products are twice as expensive as the national average must be closed."

"The economic argument was in the minority," Ploszajski stated. "But in the interests of reform it is the economist who should hold the trump cards."

The difficulties involved in finding allies at the "lower levels," the scholar went on, are illustrated by sociological studies: Low-skilled workers (who constitute approximately two-thirds of the total in Poland) are against the differentiated approach. Only one-third are in favor of pay according to labor and production competition between people and enterprises, in favor of forging their own happiness.

Ploszajski also described as champions of reform a social stratum which formerly was not part of the foundation of people's power—the technological intelligentsia, whose prestige ought to be enhanced, in his opinion. This was echoed by the speech by GDR scholar J. Raab, who dwelt on the methods of managing scientific-technical progress. When automation is introduced, he reported, only 25 percent of the saving is due to the actual technology; the remaining 75 percent comes from organizing labor and production in a new way. Therefore, Raab believes, it is time to acknowledge that the provision of information facilities for production and production organization are assuming the character of a productive force.

The role of the "human factor" was analyzed in detail at the roundtable on the theme of the "Social Structure of Socialist Society and Its Development Trends."

The debate was particularly intense. Two Hungarian academics gave diametrically opposed assessments of the transformations that have been embarked upon in their country. Different viewpoints were expressed on the question of whether unemployment is permissible under socialism. Finally, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Rogovin asserted that gambling on enterprise would lead to the formation of a new elite and that the press is wrong to accuse the opponents of differentiated incomes of professing an "ideology of envy," since they give greed and concern for personal well-being the role of driving force. The opposing view was that unless one masters material labor incentive levers, social policy will be left without resources.

Yes, in contrast to the Polish television program described above, economic arguments gained a majority here. What meets the interests and principles of socialism, the debaters said, is not the guarantee of equal incomes, but the guarantee of an equal right to obtain incomes in accordance with the quantity and quality of labor.

A great deal of attention was devoted to the problems of utilizing public consumption funds and to social guarantees in general. One Czechoslovak academic branded as a recurrence of leveling prejudicial to production efficiency growth the fact that in his country 14 percent of the GNP used in consumption is free services.

USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member K. Mikulskiy's reasoning was interesting. In his assessment, expenditure on social needs is lower than it should be and, what is more, it is ineffective because it frequently encourages dependence. Even worse, it is used more often than not in the interests of the well-off or those who are moderately secure, serving as their "social protection" against the pressure of the need to improve production efficiency, whereas it is innovators, people taking economic risks who ought to be protected.

The "Shade of Polonius," or Science Must Be Science

Of the four conference sections, three dealt with problems of a superstructural nature, as indicated by the manner in which they were designated: "Ways To Democratize Public Life and Ensure Socialist Rule of Law," "Tasks of the Social Sciences in the Elaboration of Problems of Improving the Spiritual Sphere and the Way of Life," "New Political Thinking and Problems of International Cooperation." And they all ended up discussing economic matters.

The failure of a number of economic reforms in the past was due to the fact that they were not accompanied by a restructuring of the political system. This is topical today too, and I will cite several pronouncements from the "No 2" section in confirmation of this.

"It is necessary to intensify and expand the supremacy of the law—the Czechoslovak legal system contains only 10 percent laws, the rest being normative acts and instructions with modest legal force" (Prof Havlicek, CSSR).

"We have been hearing about Soviet lessees for 2 years now. But look at Article 50 of the Fundamentals of USSR Land Legislation—the leasing of land is described there as a breach of the law on land nationalization. Consequently, the lessee is in fact a potential criminal" (Prof Kozar, USSR).

"Existing legislation cannot be replaced 'with one stroke.' The direct and universal nonobservance of it for the sake of the principles of restructuring, which have not yet been juridically enshrined, leads to lawlessness, to the violation of order and discipline. This demands that one embark as soon as possible on a radical but well thought-out reform of the Constitution and of other laws" (Prof Mruchkov, Bulgaria).

But the debaters did not reduce the democratization tasks to "applied functions" serving the economy. "The democratization of political life is in a sense an end in itself for socialism, because socialism is conceivable only as a democratic society," Academician V. Kudryavtsev said, summing up the section's work.

...In all, the conference was addressed by nearly 180 speakers from 12 countries. Most of the speeches were distinguished by passion and they abounded in facts and ingenious historical parallels. Prof J. Halasz from Hungary used... Shakespeare in his argument: He cited the famous dialogue between Hamlet and Polonius in which the prince of Denmark likens the shape of a cloud to a camel, a weasel, and a whale, and Polonius enthusiastically agrees with him in each case ("By the mass, and 'tis like a camel indeed"; "It is backed like a weasel").

The audience grasped the allusion: It ill becomes scholars to engage in apologetics, in the fruitless practice of saying yes to everything. In the time of the personality cult and stagnation in social science institutions it was in fact as if the shade of Polonius—flatterer and time-server—was ever present.

The emancipation of the social sciences (which was also evident in the course of this international conference) is another result of restructuring. There was a lot of talk here about the need to restore socialism's magnetism, about the future: Incidentally, the theme of one roundtable was "Socialism and Youth."

In the participants' opinion, the forum will have served to strengthen collaboration among socialist countries' scholars. It was the start, rather than the finish, as far as social scientists' collective efforts to solve their crucial tasks of elaborating new approaches and a new vision of the modern concept of socialism are concerned.

United States & Canada

Further Comment on U.S. Presidential Election

Gerasimov Interviewed

LD1211232588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 12 Nov 88

[From the "168 Hours" program presented by correspondents Istvan Dulcsar and Gyorgy Bolgar]

[Excerpt] [Kulcsar] Dear Gyorgy Bolgar, I think you know what it is I want to talk to you about—naturally, about the presidential election. I think you have heard many spokesmen talk about the issue recently, and I, too, had the opportunity to interview a spokesman of a superpower. Gennadiy Gerasimov visited Budapest on the occasion of the public relations conference. He is the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman and also the Soviet commentator on U.S. affairs. Let's listen together to the interview he gave me. You may have a view on it. I asked him first how he explains that the majority of the U.S. electorate voted on Tuesday in favor of George Bush.

[Begin recording] [Gerasimov in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation] I observe the United States from Moscow, although it is true I visited there not long ago. Well, the election of Bush may be explained by the fact that the majority of Americans are satisfied with their material position and voted for the status quo and against changes; that is, against raising taxes. However, this is only my assumption.

[Kulcsar] Do I understand correctly that this is not the reply of the Soviet foreign affairs spokesman but that of a journalist dealing with the United States?

[Gerasimov] Not long ago, I was asked in my capacity of foreign affairs spokesman, and I replied that we accept the U.S. decision, the choice of the U.S. electorate. In a nutshell, therefore, I am hypothesizing as a commentator and a journalist, but I would remind you about what the Americans themselves have said so often, that the election campaign revolved around personalities instead of the great political problems and that there were many artificial elements in the campaign. The methods of the election campaign have been criticized by even the well-known right-wing commentator George Will. However, I repeat, it is the Americans' own affair. Our view is that we accept their choice. We intend to continue to improve our links with the United States. We hope that the new administration will want to do this, too. In any case, George Bush has declared now that he intends to continue the dialogue with the Soviet Union and wants to meet Mikhail Gorbachev soon. We welcome this.

[Kulcsar] In your view, therefore, is it a good thing if the Reagan line continues, or do you want to see a change in the politics of the new president?

[Gerasimov] What we would like to see is for the dialogue that began with Reagan to continue without a break and be strengthened. When Reagan took office he did not want any dialogue with us whatsoever. He criticized us in a very harsh tone. Since then, the situation has changed fundamentally, and in his latest presidential speeches, which may be taken as his political testament, Reagan too took a stand on the side of continuing the dialogue. He expressed the view, for example, that we should soon be able to sign the treaty announcing the reduction of strategic offensive weapons. The new president, George Bush, who takes office at the beginning of next year, was his vice president, and there is no difference in view between them in that the dialogue with the Soviet Union must be continued.

[Kulcsar] When can this dialogue continue?

[Gerasimov] The future will tell. Generally, with a change in administration, often a full year passes until the new administration gets into the swing of foreign politics. This is one of the peculiarities of the U.S. political system. In the given situation, the administraiton changes but at the same time it does not because the incumbent vice president will sit in the presidential chair, and if he so desires, he can keep the individual members of the old government. Thus the problem of continuity may become easier. This is a very good thing. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Zagladin Cited

PM1411111688 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 10 Nov 88 p 6

[Interview with Vadim Zagladin, CPSU Central Committee Foreign Affairs Commission Secretary, by Giulietto Chiesa in Moscow on 9 November]

[Text] Moscow—"To me it is no surprise that George Bush won," Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the USSR's Foreign Affairs Commission, said. "We know the new president fairly well, and if he wants to pursue the policy of detente and disarmament he will easily be able to do so." He added: "There will be no wait-and-see period on our part. Problems? They need to be resolved, not redefined."

It is still early morning, but the U.S. election result is already known: TASS has followed the count through the night in dozens of reports. Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Soviet Union's Foreign Affairs Commission, was already in his office looking at the latest news.

[Chiesa] Are you surprised by the result or was it all predicted?

[Zagladin] Frankly, until a month ago it was rather difficult to know how it would end. The two candidates' positions were—or seemed—very even. Only in recent weeks did it become clear that George Bush would win. So it is no surprise to me.

[Chiesa] What, in your opinion, is the significance of the American voters' choice?

[Zagladin] George Bush won basically as the continuer of Reagan, who is relinquishing his post surrounded by great popularity. In any case Bush has announced his intention to pursue the same line. Of course 8 years as a vice president who reduced unemployment, contained inflation, and signed the first arms reduction agreement could not fail to benefit him.

[Chiesa] Do you consider it a reassuring result for the Soviet Union? Do you consider Bush a good choice because he is more "predictable" than the "unknown" Dukakis?

[Zagladin] This is a difficult question to answer. Dukakis too has repeatedly spoken out in favor of a policy of continuing the dialogue with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless the fact is that Bush has personally taken part in all three stages—very complex—of the negotiations with us. By now a rather good mutual acquaintance exists. If, as he has said, he wants to continue that policy, he can easily do so.

[Chiesa] A new chapter is opening. Bush has said he wants to follow in Reagan's footsteps, but he is not Reagan. What will Moscow's first moves be? What is planned for the immediate term? Are you planning on a summit in the near future?

[Zagladin] There are no specific plans yet for another summit. In any case it is some months before the official investiture. However, we are continuing political activity in the form of diplomatic contacts. The Geneva negotiations are developing. In the European context talks are being completed in Vienna on the agenda for conventional arms negotiations. Everything has remained fluid and good progress is being made. I can say that there will be no wait-and-see period on our part. The problems are there to be seen: They need to be resolved, not redefined.

Choice Reflects Status Quo

PM1411135988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Blinov "On the Spot Reportage": "U.S. Congress in Democrats' Hands"]

[Excerpt] Washington—[passage omitted] The whole House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate are being reelected at the same time as the presidential election. Judging from the preliminary results, the Democratic Party will retain control of the Senate. As for the House of Representatives, there the Democratic Party positions are even stronger, and the Republicans cannot count on changing the position there either.

...Throughout the evening the result summaries, which gradually shifted westward following the time zones, could be heard from the television screens. After 2300, when the polls closed in the west coast states, M. Dukakis made his statement in Boston. Appearing with his family before his supporters in the International Trade Center auditorium, he reported that he had just congratulated Bush on his victory.

"How do you assess the election result?" I asked James Thurber [name as transliterated], the well-known U.S. political scientist.

"To a certain degree the electors voted for the status quo," Thurber said. "They left the Republicans heading the executive and the Democrats in control of Congress. The voter swing to the Republican Party which has occurred in the eighties helped Bush. He could rely on R. Reagan's prestige and on experienced advisers. But Bush will have to take account of a Congress dominated by the Democrats. If he wants to be an effective president, he will have to get Congress to agree to his moves more frequently than R. Reagan, and where possible try to conduct a "bipartisan policy."

Continuity in USSR-U.S. Ties

LD1111125088 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] In his message of congratulations to the U.S. president-elect, George Bush, the Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev, has expressed hope that his work in that high position will serve to further develop stable and predictable relations between the USSR and the United States, and improve the international situation as a whole. For its part, the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, is ready to continue strengthening mutually advantageous cooperation in all areas. An expansion of constructive interaction between the Soviet Union and the United States would be in the interests of both nations and the world community as a whole, the Soviet leader pointed out. Our observer Vladislav Kozyakov has this commentary:

It's natural that presidential elections in the United States slowed down the Soviet-American dialogue. Now that a new president has been elected an active search for mutually-acceptable solutions can begin again. And we hope that this prospect will be utilized.

Speaking at a news conference held as soon as the results of elections became known, George Bush reaffirmed his willingness to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev upon taking office. James Baker, appointed as secretary of state, will have to confer with the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, said George Bush—then we would make clear to the Soviets that I would be willing to meet with Mr Gorbachev, he said.

Officials in Moscow believe that to hold another Soviet-American summit will be possible. They think that it's essential to have no pauses in the Soviet-American dialogue, particularly in the area of security issues. The agenda of talks underway between the two countries or with their participation includes such issues as cuts in strategic offensive weapons, subject to keeping within the limits of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the ABM Treaty, a total ban on chemical weapons, arms and troop reductions in Europe from the Atlantic to the Ural mountains, and measures designed to strengthen peace in the Asian-Pacific region. All these and many other problems must be dealt with without delay and they can be solved only with cooperation and interaction between the Soviet Union and the United States.

There are many difficult and complex points in Soviet-American negotiations; a lot of difficulties had to be overcome during the drafting of the treaty on intermediate-range nuclear forces. Commenting on election returns, George Bush said the people have spoken and the verdict was clear. As regards the Soviet-American relationship, the American people's verdict is absolutely clear because during the election campaign voters supporting the Republicans as well as those who backed the Democrats called for promoting the dialogue with the USSR. Now when the elections are over, under discussion is the following question: How successfully can a Republican president work with a Congress where the Democrats are in a majority? As for U.S.-Soviet agreements on the issues of security and disarmament, they enjoy bipartisan support, as the signing of the INF Treaty showed.

Problems Facing Bush Noted

LD1411095888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Nov 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov]

[Excerpts] [Ovchinnikov] Hello, comrades. I think that this time the same start is characteristic of any review of the week's events—the results of the U.S. elections. To talk about reactions over here, Soviet people are, naturally, first and foremost interested in how the arrival of the new boss in the White House will affect our bilateral relations, whether continuity of the trends of recent years will be ensured under the new administration, the active political dialogue continued, and the constructive cooperation between the USSR and the United States broadened.

Valentin Zorin reports from Washington:

[Zorin] [passage omitted] The question I now want to pose, comrades, may appear paradoxical to you. Should the Republicans be rejoicing in the victory they have won in the fight for the White House in the past few days? Now is surely the time to recall our saying: The returns failed to rise to expectations. In the building in front of which I am standing—the U.S. State Treasury—they know better than anywhere else what kind of legacy has been left by the Reagan administration for the Bush government, and that means legacy in the most direct sense of the word. The U.S. national debt has now reached the truly unimaginable sum of $3 trillion. This money was borrowed by Reagan, and it was due to this, to a considerable extent, that the prosperity of the U.S. economy in these years has been ensured. Reagan borrowed the money, but it is Bush who has to repay these debts. [video shows street scenes]

Of course, this is no reason for us to gloat; we, too, as you know, have a problem with a budget deficit. It is all the more necessary for both our countries not to dawdle in seeking a solution to the problems that will make it possible to reduce expenditure on military needs. The future will reveal how President Bush will deal with this part of the legacy of Reagan's administration. There is no doubt that it is not an easy legacy. [passage omitted]

[Ovchinnikov] Vladimir Zvyagin reports from Washington:

[Zvyagin] [video shows Capitol building] The noise of the victory orchestras and the happy statements by leaders of the Republican Party have drawn a veil over perhaps one of the most important problems of the elections. The already difficult relationship between the Republican administration and the U.S. Congress promises to become even more complicated, since, as a result of these elections, the Democrats have considerably consolidated their dominant position, both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress. This in turn means that in dealing with many of the problems of the country's domestic and foreign policy which have been left to it, the new Republican administration coming into the White House will most probably come up against new and serious difficulties.

Among the most important problems are reducing the budget and trade deficits, the lamentable state of the health care system, the avalanche-like growth in drug abuse and in the number of homeless people throughout the country, and the deep contradictions in the education system. The future head of the White House also has to find a common language with Congress on another, very important issue worrying Americans today—the problem of reaching as quickly as possible an accord with the Soviet Union on arms reduction and international security. [passage omitted]

Zorin Cites Shultz on Bush, Baker Policy

LD1111212788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Our special correspondent, Valentin Zorin, has had a meeting in Washington with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz:

[Begin recording] [Zorin] Mr Shultz, I don't think it will be any surprise to you if I begin our interview with a question of particular interest to Soviet television viewers: Do you think there will be continuity in U.S. policy with regard to Soviet-U.S. relations in connection with the forthcoming change in the U.S. administration?

[Shultz in English with superimposed Russian translation] Yes, I am sure there will be continuity in our policy. This is not merely my personal opinion; listen to what president-elect Bush said when he held the post of U.S. vice president, during the election campaign, and now that he has been elected to the office of President. He spoke specifically about continuity; he has singled out specific issues on which he wants to work together with the Soviet leaders. Mr Bush was actively involved in working out the overall approach taken by the Reagan administration—or more precisely, the Reagan-Bush administration—to this problem.

[Zorin] I'd like to ask you a rather delicate question. The newly elected President has named Mr Baker as your successor. What would be your main advice to him, if he were to ask, on Soviet-U.S. relations?

[Shultz] Well, my advice would boil down to the following: Listen to what president-elect Bush says and then carry it out. He has already set out the foundations of his program. He has stated that he wants to cooperate with the Soviet Union. He has stressed that he wants to hold a well-prepared summit meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev, and that it should be preceded by meetings with our friends and allies on the one hand, and meetings with your side's foreign minister, Shevardnadze, held with reasonable frequency, on the other. This will mean that by the time our heads of state meet they will be able to give it a content that would make the summit meeting a productive one. But I think the most important thing is to take a realistic approach to determining what are our major problems and prepare to discuss them. [end recording]

[Announcer] The interview given by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz will be broadcast in full on Moscow television's first channel in the "International Program" at 1810 [1510 GMT] on 19 November.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Shevardnadze, Cambodia's Hun Sen Hold Talks

LD1211120988 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, had a meeting and a talk with Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), who is currently in Moscow on his way home.

Eduard Shevardnadze said the new statement by the PRK's government on national reconciliation, which again shows the constructive-initiative character of the foreign policy course of People's Kampuchea and its sincere striving to restore peace and tranquility in the ancient land of Angkor and to contribute to improving the political atmosphere in South East Asia was highly appreciated in the Soviet Union.

Hun Sen, for his part, emphasized that the PRK's Government was fully resolved to proceed along the road of national reconciliation and efforts to resolve the conflict by political means. He expressed heart-felt gratitude to the Soviet Government and the Soviet people for their full support for the efforts being made in this respect by the PRK together with Vietnam and Laos.

The head of the PRK's Government voiced hope that all countries which are interested in eliminating the conflict in South East Asia would promote the implementation of practical measures which are recorded in the Paris communique and which are aimed at finding solutions to the Kampuchean problem.

In this connection he drew attention to the setting up of a working commission to study various possibilities for a political settlement, and to the agreement to hold next meeting of the Kampuchean sides at summit level next year.

Eduard Shevardnadze said that the very fact of the Paris meeting and the adoption of a coordinated document at it was yet another evidence that the Kampuchean issues was gradually moving into the field of practical solutions. He said the opinion of the participants in the Paris meeting about the convocation of an international conference on Kampuchea was being supported in the Soviet Union.

The conversation was held in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely mutual understanding.

Cambodia's Hun Sen Interviewed in France

LD0911124188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Fere-en-Tardenois (Aisne Department, France) 9 Nov (TASS)—Correspondent Viktor Khrekov reports: The meeting here of representatives of the three Cambodian sides is a new step toward a peaceful political settlement of the Cambodian question. This was stated in an interview with the TASS correspondent by Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK].

During the talks, which were exceedingly intense at times, an in-depth and wide-ranging discussion of a number of problems concerning a political settlement around Cambodia was held. The creation of a permanent working commission, the task of which is to study opportunities for a political solution to the Cambodian problem, can be considered an important outcome of the meeting. The commission's work will be led by the representatives of each of the sides in turn. Another important result of the talks is the continuation of the dialogue, for it has been decided to hold the next meeting next year.

It should be noted that during the meeting the sides came to a common understanding of the importance of measures directed at creating an independent, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia. "We were unanimous in appraising the prospect for a withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers and the importance of joint actions for the purpose of preventing a return to power of the "Khmer Rouge," the Pol Pot group, which bears responsibility for the killing of millions of Khmers," he said.

At the same time, a number of disagreements were revealed. Thus, Sihanouk and Son Sann are in favor of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, but against an end to outside aid to the opposition Khmer groups. This puts the sides in unequal conditions. Moreover, Sihanouk and Son Sann propose to create a new government without holding elections, that is, to impose it on the Cambodian people. It is essentially a question of liquidating the PRK, despite the fact that the PRK is the only force to date that is countering the Pol Pot men and preventing their return to Cambodia. The maintenance of the "Khmer Rouge's" military strength, through its participation in a political settlement, also has been attempted. This is fraught with the danger of fresh bloodshed. The PRK, Hun Sen stressed, permits "Khmer Rouge" participation in a political solution on condition of its disarmament.

As for the international conference on Cambodia, on which agreement was reached in the communique, the importance of this forum is not in doubt. Its aim is to create international guarantees for a political settlement around Cambodia, the head of the PRK Government pointed out.

Rogachev, UN Official Discuss Cambodia

LD1211001088 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 11 TASS—Igor Rogachev, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, met here today with Rafeeuddin Ahmed [name as received], U.N. under-secretary-general, who had arrived in Moscow for holding consultations at the USSR Foreign Ministry.

During a friendly conversation a useful exchange of views on problems of South-East Asia took place. A considerable similarity of views was revealed with regard to the processes in the Kampuchean settlement, including the need for settling this conflict situation by peaceful political means. Participants in the conversation pointed out the importance of the continuation of a dialogue between various Kampuchean sides.

SRV's Nguyen Co Thach Views Relations

PM0811130988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Nguyen Co Thach, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Politburo, vice chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers, and SRV foreign minister: "Friendship Strengthens Ties"]

[Text] Hanoi—In the early twenties Comrade Ho Chi Minh—the first Vietnamese to combine patriotism with Marxist-Leninist teaching and the ideas of the October revolution—opened the way to victories in the struggle for national liberation and the reunification of the Vietnamese state. At the same time, he laid the foundations for fraternal friendship between the Vietnamese and Soviet peoples.

Nurtured by our countries' communist parties and peoples, Vietnamese-Soviet friendship has successfully stood the test of time, steadily strengthened and developed, and become a decisive factor in the anticolonial struggle, the repulsion of imperialist aggression, and socialist building in Vietnam.

The signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union 3 November 1978 was a new step toward developing relations of all-around cooperation between the SRV and the USSR in socialist building and in the struggle for peace and stability in Southeast Asia, and for peace, security, and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region and in the world as a whole.

The highly fruitful development of Vietnamese-Soviet relations in the last few decades has been brought about above all by the revolutionary nature of our two communist parties and states, and relies on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. It was the result of the implementation of the Communist Party of Vietnam's [CPV] true course of combining the nation's strengths with the utmost utilization of international solidarity and of strengthening cohesion—above all with the Soviet Union.

The powerful support and enormous and effective assistance from the CPSU and the fraternal Soviet peopled helped the Vietnamese people to withstand the severest tests during a long hard struggle and win their freedom and independence, and they continue to help them in overcoming current difficulties. Following the path of Lenin and the Great October Socialist Revolution and strengthening solidarity and all-around cooperation with the USSR, Vietnamese Communists and the Vietnamese people, suffering enormous casualties and winning glorious victories, have made their weighty contribution to the struggle for the aims of our era—peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

In the last 10 years relations between our parties and countries have been tremendously developed both vertically and horizontally. A qualitatively new stage in these relations was opened up by the 27th CPSU Congress and the Sixth CPV Congress—the stage of the restructuring and renewal of the two countries' economies and the restructuring and renewal of cooperation in all spheres (the political, economic, cultural, scientific, technical, and ideological spheres) with a view to improving the effectiveness of collaboration under the new conditions and better meeting our countries' needs. The CPV and the Vietnamese people are attentively following the course of revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union and wholly support it. The 19th all-union party conference was an important event in the Soviet people's political life and marked a new step along the road of restructuring in the USSR. We are confident that the CPSU and the Soviet people will overcome all difficulties and achieve the goals outlined by the 27th party congress. The experience of restructuring in the USSR is a valuable lesson for the cause of renewal in Vietnam.

Meetings are regularly held between top party and state leaders in our countries to exchange opinions on questions of strengthening relations and to examine the main avenues for coordinating actions in the international arena. The meetings and talks between Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, and M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other leaders, and the documents signed by the sides reaffirmed the unity of CPV and CPSU positions on the questions of restructuring, renewal, socioeconomic development in the Soviet Union and Vietnam, the improvement of cooperation between the two countries and the enhancement of its effectiveness, and topical international problems. They also reaffirmed our countries' resolve to coordinate efforts to strengthen stability and security in Southeast Asia, the Asia-Pacific region, and the world as a whole.

The scale of economic ties between the SRV and the USSR is steadily growing and their content is being enriched. Acting in a selfless spirit, the Soviet Union continues to give the Vietnamese people enormous assistance. The scale of this assistance doubled in 1981-1985 in comparison with previous 5-year plans, and will double again in 1986-1990. Thanks to this, we have jointly built, renovated, and modernized more than 300 different national economic projects during this period. This help, which is of very great importance, makes it possible for the Vietnamese people to resolve the most complex problems and to successfully and gradually carry out the tasks of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in accordance with the course of the Sixth CPV Congress.

At the same time, acting in the spirit of the new thinking embodied in the work of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Sixth CPV Congress, Vietnam and the Soviet Union are fully resolved to move away from relations of trade and unilateral cooperation toward new, higher forms of the international socialist division of labor—mutually advantageous production specialization and production sharing—which will be our contribution to the socialist countries' economic integration; to abandon old ties based on administrative and bureaucratic mechanisms and to switch to new mechanisms based on socialist economic accountability [khozraschet], enterprise, and varied forms and methods, and to joint enterprises and cooperation using customer-supplied raw materials on a barter basis, organizing collaboration on three levels: the level of governments, sectors, and individual enterprises.

The CPV and the Vietnamese people value highly the efforts of the CPSU and the Soviet Government aimed at renewing economic cooperation with Vietnam and improving its effectiveness. Our country is making every effort to overcome its present difficulties, to eliminate the centralized bureaucratic economic management mechanism, and to carry out the CPV Central Committee Politburo's 7 May 1987 resolution on renewing Vietnamese-Soviet economic cooperation. Only in this way will we be able to make effective use of the Soviet Union's help, bring Vietnam's potential better into play, and participate more fully in the international socialist division of labor.

Our parties act unanimously in order to turn the Asia-Pacific region—which has been the scene of highly protracted and bloody local wars over the last 40-odd years—into a region of peace, stability, cooperation, trust, and mutual understanding in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence. The growth in the Soviet Union's might and the victory in Asia for the forces of progress and national independence have entirely changed the situation in this region in favor of the cause of peace and cooperation among states. Today, in the context of the overall trend toward detente, a consolidation of forces in favor of peace, cooperation, and development is under way in the Asia-Pacific region. The current large-scale changes in the Asia-Pacific region are linked with untiring activity in the spirit of M.S. Gorbachev's well-known Vladivostok statement of 28 July 1986 and the important new initiatives put forward by him in his 16 September 1988 speech in Krasnoyarsk.

Closely coordinating their actions in the struggle for peace, security, and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region with the Soviet Union, the CPV and the Vietnamese people are patiently pursuing the line of normalizing relations with China on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and advocate the holding of peaceful talks with the PRC with a view to resolving the differences between the two countries in the interests of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples and the cause of peace in the region.

The efforts to ensure peace and stability in Southeast Asia and to settle the Cambodian problem will undoubtedly have a positive impact on the situation in Asia as a whole and promote the maintenance of peace and security and the development of cooperation and progress in this vast continent.

Vietnam and the Soviet Union wholly support the national reconciliation policy proclaimed by the PRK. The informal meeting in Jakarta held on the basis of the Ho Chi Minh accords between Vietnam and Indonesia, the meetings between chairmen of Councils of Ministers, the meetings between PRK Foreign Minister Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and the SRV statement on the withdrawal of 50,000 servicemen from Cambodia all create favorable opportunities for getting out of the deadlock that has lasted 9 years now and opening the way to a political settlement in Cambodia.

The CPV and the Vietnamese people highly value the Soviet Union's consistent position, its support, and the close cooperation with the USSR in the struggle for peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

During Comrade Nguyen Van Linh's official visit to the USSR in May 1987 the Soviet-Vietnamese joint statement noted: "The Soviet Union invariably supports the efforts of the working people of the SRV, Laos, and the PRK to build the foundations of socialism and defend their countries' independence and national sovereignty."

As before, the strengthening of friendship and all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union is an exceptionally important strategic course and the cornerstone of the CPV's foreign policy. From generation to generation Vietnamese Communists and the entire Vietnamese people will have the best feelings for the Soviet Union and will continue to strengthen and develop relations with the USSR, seeing this task as a lofty responsibility and a manifestation of the sincere sympathies of all Vietnamese citizens.

Vietnamese-Soviet relations reinforced by the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation will undoubtedly receive further qualitative development in accordance with the course of restructuring and renewal put forward by the 27th CPSU Congress and the Sixth CPV Congress, will become more effective, will promote progress in the two countries to an even greater extent in accordance with the aspirations of our parties and peoples, and will make a worthy contribution to the cause of peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia, the Asia-Pacific region, and the world as a whole.

Near East & South Asia

PRAVDA on End of Baklanov Kabul Visit

PM1411125588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Following a Course of Cooperation and Good-Neighborliness"]

[Text] Kabul, 13 Nov—CPSU Central Committee Secretary O.D. Baklanov began the final day of his working visit to Afghanistan with a tour of the "Jangalakh" plant, the only enterprise in Afghanistan repairing motor vehicles and engines. They also make gasoline tankers there, using Soviet- and Czechoslovak-made chassis.

It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of air transport in mountainous Afghanistan, accounting, as it does, for the bulk of freight shipments. That is why this enterprise, constructed nearly 3 decades ago with technical assistance from our country, is one of the chief facilities in the developing Afghan industry.

The Kabul plant is being fundamentally revamped at the moment with assistance from the USSR. "Jangalakh" leaders, specialists, and workers told the CPSU Central Committee secretary about its tasks and about the pace of work under today's difficult conditions. Major new facilities have been commissioned, including a shop for the capital repair of motor vehicle components, a transformer substation, and a foundry. This has made it possible to considerably increase output, whose technical standard along with overall production standards are improving.

The enterprise pays a great deal of attention to development in the social sphere. The plant has a good kindergarten and there is now a medical center, a hostel, and a dining room. The permanent free issue of a number of foodstuffs in the plant shops is a great help to the collective.

Fine traditions of Soviet-Afghan friendship have been established at the plant. Many of the Afghans who are currently involved in the radical updating of the enterprise remember with warmth and love the Soviet specialists who just recently were working side by side with them. They have returned home having completed their task. At the moment the plant collective is preparing to establish direct links with the Apsheronsk diesel enterprise in our country.

The course of national reconciliation, which is being persistently implemented by the Afghan leadership, offers opportunities for accelerating the revival of the neighboring country's economy, undermined by many years of war. A long-term program of economic, technical, and trade cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan for the period up to the year 2000 and agreements on credits for implementing the priority work associated with the program were signed in Moscow recently, and fundamental accords have been reached on the areas, scale, and priorities of Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation.

These documents, the CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed, accord with the spirit of traditional, committed, amicable partnership between neighbor countries. Soviet people see the efficient implementation of everything stipulated in them as a means of assisting the Afghan people in hastening the formation of a stable national economy.

O.D. Baklanov then visited the Soviet military hospital in Kabul, where he had cordial conversations with troops wounded in the performance of their international duty. The CPSU Central Committee secretary wanted to know details about the standard of medical services and day-to-day conditions for hospital patients. Wishing the men and officers a speedy recovery, he said that the homeland is proud of their courage and high morale. Our country is concerned about getting the internationalist soldiers reestablished in civilian life and in the creative labor of restructuring.

On the same day O.D. Baklanov had a final conversation with President Najibullah. Mutual satisfaction was expressed with the results of the delegation's stay and with the accords reached in the course of the meetings and talks.

The Afghan president stressed that, while firmly and consistently advocating a political solution to Afghanistan's internal problems, the Republic's government intends to act resolutely against those who prefer war over peace talks.

The Soviet side expressed full support for his just stance. The meeting's participants confirmed that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan will continue the all-around development and strengthening of Soviet-Afghan friendship and cooperation.

The working visit was over. Before flying home, O.D. Baklanov told journalists that his stay in Afghanistan had made a deep impression. We met with a courageous and proud people, he continued, and saw for ourselves the strength of Soviet-Afghan friendship.

The conversations with President Najibullah, Prime Minister Sharq, and other Afghan leaders demonstrated anew our countries' common positions on key problems of the present day. We were unanimous that the Geneva agreements must be strictly implemented by all the parties involved. Our side confirmed its constant support for the Afghan Government in its efforts to implement the national reconciliation policy and halt the fratricidal war. During the conversations some additional steps were agreed upon to deepen cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan in various spheres.

On leaving the hospitable land of Afghanistan, I wish all Afghans an early peace and prosperity.

O.D. Baklanov was seen off at Kabul airport by Ghulam Faruq Ya'qubi, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo, and Shaykh Navaz Tanay, candidate member of the Politburo.

Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister and USSR ambassador to Afghanistan, was also at the airport to see him off.

On the same day O.D. Baklanov arrived back in Moscow. He was greeted at the airport by B.K. Pugo, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; V.S. Shaposhnikov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and other officials.

Afghan Charge d'Affaires in the USSR Said Murtaza was also there to greet him.

USSR Ministers B.M. Belousov and A.S. Systsov and a group of senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and a number of ministries and departments returned with the CPSU Central Committee secretary, having accompanied him on the trip.

Missiles Hit Near Soviet Helicopters in Kabul

LD1311171388 Moscow TASS in English 1701 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Kabul November 13 TASS—Afghan extremists launched two rocket attacks on Kabul today. Three missiles fell within the disposition of a Soviet helicopter regiment. Seven exploded near the Kabul airport and three hit an integrated home-building factory.

Vavilov on U.S. 'Refusal' of Peaceful Road

LD1011162088 Moscow TASS in English 1601 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 10 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The USA will continue backing mujahids. This policy will remain unchanged. This was stated by Marlin Fitzwater, White House spokesman. This is also shown by the fact that President of the United States Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz received in Washington Rabbani, leader of the "Peshawar Seven".

Receiving the leader of the Afghan opposition which does not accept a political settlement, according him high honours, they in the White House thus show the refusal from a peaceful road of the solution of the Afghan conflict, the unwillingness to bring into play their influence to stop bloodshed.

And it is precisely an end to the bloodshed that is the main thing for the Afghan people. It is precisely such concrete and constructuve proposals that are consistently made by Kabul when it calls for a ceasefire, for embarking on negotiations to form a coalition government on the broadest of basis with the participation of all the opposition groups within the country and outside it, including those who are waging an armed struggle against the Kabul regime.

Instead of this reasonable road of national reconciliation in Afghanistan, Washington expressed the intention to continue backing terrorist actions of mujahids. This actually means that, contrary to the Geneva accords, ever new consignments of U.S. weapons will be brought into the area of fighting, more rockets and shells will rain on cities and villages, killing civilians, destroying houses, schools and mosques.

Such a backing can only lead to the further aggravation of the situation by the Afghan opposition, the intensification of the opposition's terroristic activity aimed at demoralising the population, destabilising the situation and increasing the death toll of the Afghan people. And the responsibility for these deaths, also of women, children and old people, will rest also on Washington.

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan have enough strength to crush the oppositional armed units. The combat potential of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan enhanced when they were supplied with more powerful Soviet weapons, which was done recently as reply measures toward Afghanistan's defence and lawful self-protection.

But it is only a peaceful road, the road of a dialogue that Kabul and Moscow continue regarding as the only way of solving the Afghan problem. It could be a dialogue at any forums—at the United Nations Organization, in Mecca, in any other place, where Afghans, discarding strife, recalcitrance, forgetting offense, could decide themselves, without outside prompting and pressure, the question of the future of their country—neutral, independent, nonaligned, the question of government acceptable for all the sections of the population, for all tribes and peoples.

Contract Signed for USSR-Kabul Power Line

PM1411113988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent D. Meshchaninov report: "USSR-Afghanistan: Contract Signed"]

[Text] Kabul—In line with the long-term program for economic, technical, and trade cooperation between the USSR and the DRA [as published], a major contract has been signed here between the All-Union "Tekhnopromeksport" Association and the Republic of Afghanistan Ministry of Water and Electricity.

The contract provides for the supply of equipment and materials to complete the construction of the "USSR State Border-Kabul" power transmission line.

The commissioning of all the "USSR State Border-Kabul" power transmission lines will make it possible to fundamentally solve the problem of power supplies to the Afghan capital and the central economic region of the country.

PNC Holds Extraordinary Session in Algiers

Al-Subayh on Session

LD1211145888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] The Palestine National Council [PNC], viewed by Palestinians as their own parliament in exile, gathers in Algiers today for an extraordinary session. Kim Gerasimov, our Near East correspondent, reports from Cairo:

[Gerasimov] On the eve of this session I met here in Cairo with Muhammad al-Subayh, general secretary of the PNC. I was interested in the tasks (?faced) by the Palestinian parliament and in what decisions it might adopt in the present conditions, (?when) extreme right-wing forces have a clear advantage following recent elections in Israel, and when the [word indistinct] uprising has continued for 12 months in the occupied territories. This is what Muhammad al-Subayh replied:

[Begin Al-Subayh recording in English with superimposed Russian translation] Our PNC is gathering for its session in Algiers at a critical and crucial period in the modern history of the Palestinian people. Ways and means for supporting the people's uprising in the occupied territories will be discussed. The question of the (?establishment) of our independent state based on the 1947 UN Security Council Resolution No 181 will be examined. As is known, this resolution envisages the division of the former British mandate territory of Palestine into two states—the Arab and the Jewish states. The question regarding this matter came on the agenda after 31 July this year, when Jordan undertook its well-known step of stating that because the PLO is the only legal representative of the Palestinian people, it—meaning Jordan—ceases its formal relations with the West Bank, of Jordan. [end recording]

In this discussion with me, the PNC general secretary noted that at its session in Algiers, the council will adopt a political declaration on settling the Near East problem. Specifically what will be at issue in this declaration, Al-Subayh naturally could not tell me. Judging from everything, the discussion of PLO strategy in new conditions will be an uneasy and even stormy matter. Highly diverse viewpoints probably exist (?in its policy). However, if one is to sum up the dominating moods in leading Palestinian circles on the eve of the session, then to Israel it will probably sound like a peace proposal by the Palestinians in exchange for recognition of an independent Palestinian state. The question is: Does Israel have enough common sense to drop its past prejudices and respond to this proposal?

PLO Representative Interviewed

LD1211151688 Moscow TASS in English 1023 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 12 TASS—It is a new aspect in the policy of the Palestine National Council (PNC) that is suggested to establish international control in the

Israeli-occupied territories following a withdrawal of Israeli troops from there. Subsequently, after the elapse of some time, the Palestinians themselves will determine their future. This prospect was outlined in an interview published today in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper by Nabil 'Amr, extraordinary representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to the USSR. He is a deputy to a special session of the PNC, the top legislative body of the Palestinian people. The session opened in Algiers today.

Nabil 'Amr said the session is to work out a common policy and strategy of the Palestinian resistance movement in the Arab world and in the international arena as a whole. The principal aim is to secure a just solution to the Palestinian problem and to find ways for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

He pointed out in the interview that Tel Aviv did not show signs of renunciation of its expansionist policy. "The results of the latest elections in Israel show that possibilities for a peaceful settlement diminish. Although opposition parties and, first of all, the communists have gained a larger number of seats in the Knesset, this", the PLO representative said, "does not enable them really to influence the government's policy".

Nabil 'Amr said the PNC session in Algiers would discuss, in particular, the U.S. influence on the development of the situation in the Middle East. He emphasized that up to now Washington had not taken any practical steps to resolve this acutest problem.

"In many respects we count on the Soviet-American dialogue on major international issues, including regional conflicts, the dialogue which gains in scope and strength", the PLO representative remarked.

Speaking of ways to ensure peace and the Palestinians' guaranteed right to national sovereignty, he said: "In order to secure this in practice it is essential to show readiness for the new political thinking which has already yielded good fruit in the search for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and between Iran and Iraq."

Independence Declaration Cited

LD1511071988 Moscow TASS in English 0712 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Paris November 15 TASS—November 15 has become the national day of the Arab people of Palestine. The independent Palestinian state, with its capital in Jerusalem, was proclaimed last night by Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, at an extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council (PNC), which is under way in the capital of Algeria, the FRANCE PRESSE news agency reported.

The new Palestinian state will be "a democratic, parliamentary state, based on the freedom of opinion, a multi-party system, freedom of religion and man-and-woman equality", said the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

According to reports from the capital of Algeria, the Palestine National Council passed by a majority of votes a political statement which recognizes the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 242 on settlement of the Middle East crisis. The statement stresses the need for holding "an efficient international conference under the supervision of the United Nations and with the participation of all the parties to the dispute in the region, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, on the basis of the Security Council Resolution 242 and 338 and the guaranteeing of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, and first of all its right to self-determination".

Algeria is the first country to have recognized the independent Palestinian state. This was officially stated at the session of the Palestine National Council by Algeria's Foreign Minister Boualem Bessaieh.

Bomb Damages NOVOSTI Office in Beirut

LD1211111688 Moscow TASS in English 2318 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Beirut November 12 TASS—A bomb weighing some four kilograms was thrown this night in Beirut into the yard of the regional information centre of the NOVOSTI press agency in Lebanon and the Middle East. The building and equipment of the centre were damaged. No one was injured.

Trade With India To Increase 'Substantially'

PM1411122588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[PRAVDA-TASS report dated 8 November under the rubric "The Planet's 24 Hours": "India-USSR"]

[Text] Active preparations are being made in India for the upcoming visit to that country by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The talks on questions of Soviet-Indian trade for 1989, which delegations from the two countries were holding here, have ended successfully. An official report by the Indian Government states that both sides have decided to increase the volume of mutual trade substantially in 1989. Compared with this year, when total commodity turnover is expected to total 5 billion rupees, growth in reciprocal trade will amount to 30-35 percent.

Soviet Minister Receives Kuwaiti Envoy
LD1011173088 Kuwait KUNA in English 1425 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 10 (KUNA)—Kuwait's ambassador here 'Abd al-Mohsen al-Du'ayj today met with Soviet Minister of Geology Yevgeniy Kozlovskiy.

Al-Du'ayj told KUNA the two sides reviewed the economic agreement concluded between Kuwait and the Soviet Union last September.

He also noted he had conveyed greetings of Kuwait's oil minister Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifa to Kozlovskiy and his keenness on enhancing bilateral economic relations in compliance with instructions by his highness the amir of Kuwait.

CPSU Representative Leaves for YAR Congress
PM1511094188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Trip to Yemen Arab Republic"]

[Text] G.G. Veselkov, representative of the CPSU and secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, left 11 November for the Fourth Congress of the Yemen Arab Republic General People's Congress at the invitation of that organization's leadership.

East Europe

Further on Yakovlev Visit to Czechoslovakia

Yakovlev, Jakes Hold Talks
PM1511111388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Strengthening Collaboration"]

[Text] Prague, 14 Nov—A meeting took place today between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Jakes spoke about the steps being taken by CSSR Communists in order to ensure progress in Czechoslovak society and in the economy in the next few years and beyond. The October (1988) Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee became an important political landmark in the accomplishment of Czechoslovak restructuring tasks. The CPCZ Central Committee general secretary noted that the party's ideological work must conform with life's conditions which have changed, with current standards of education, culture, and social well-being among workers being taken into account.

Yakovlev informed Jakes about problems in Soviet restructuring and about the progress in fulfilling the 19th all-union party conference decisions. The focus of the CPSU policy on people, their cares, and interests—this is the key that opens up new potential for socialism and corresponds to its Leninist concept. The Soviet Communists are convinced of the high creative potential of socialist society and are working with increasing vigor on its renewal.

A common understanding was expressed in the discussion that the new approaches will create a good base for further perfecting Soviet-Czechoslovak relations. The program of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ, which was signed today, speaks about the will of the two parties to strengthen their cooperation in this most important sphere.

During a discussion of topical international problems, it was noted that the positions of the CPSU and CPCZ on world and European problems coincide and a desire was expressed to widely cooperate for the sake of reaffirming the new political thinking in international relations.

The exchange of views was carried out in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

The same day there was a conversation between Yakovlev and Bilak and Fojtik, members of the Presidium and secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee, during which questions of improving the joint work of the CPSU Central Committee and the CPCZ Central Committee in the ideological field were discussed. A program of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ was signed that will be the main document in the coordination and development of cooperation in the work of the two fraternal parties in the social superstructure sphere. The program provides for a qualitative improvement of the present state of science, education, culture, propaganda, ideological education, mass political work, the mass media, work with young people, sports, and tourism in the spirit of the Leninist principles of the policy of the CPSU and the CPCZ.

'Vremya' on Meetings
LD1511005388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report and interview by correspondent V. Korzin, identified by caption]

[Text] [Korzin] As we have already reported, Comrade Yakovlev is on a working visit to the CSSR at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. [Video shows shot of Prague castle and streets] Prague, the capital of the CSSR. Many of its streets and squares are decorated with the flags of the two fraternal states, a sign of the fact that here, as throughout the country, a month of Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship is now under way here. There was a meeting in Prague today between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central

Committee, and Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev. An atmosphere of comradeship and sincerity typical of the relations between the two parties also reigned at this meeting.

The USSR and the CSSR are now resolving similar issues concerning the acceleration of socioeconomic development, shaping a new economic mechanism and the democratization of all aspects of the life of society. These issues were at the center of the conversation that took place. Ways of further deepening Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation and the most topical international problems were discussed.

[Video shows Yakovlev and Jakes sitting together and talking; Yakovlev then moves forward in a different room to shake hands with two men; Bilak and Fojtik are seen at the talks table, followed by Yakovlev and Fojtik signing documents]

Today, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev also met Vasil Bilak and Jan Fojtik, members of the Presidium and secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee. Then, in the presence of Comrade Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev and Jan Fojtik put their signatures to a program of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ. [Video shows Korzin addressing Yakovlev and Fojtik in the hall] Aleksandr Nikolayevich, Comrade Fojtik, you have just signed a joint program of ideological cooperation. Could you comment briefly on the significance of this document?

[Yakovlev] I agree with what Comrade Fojtik said. I would particularly stress that documents of this kind, an agreement of this kind, an intent of this kind are of particular significance at this time. It is a very complex and difficult time for all our countries. The world is undergoing a very serious process and socialism, too, is trying to resolve its own specific problems at this stage of building socialism. They, as it were, grow in stature and depth and very considerable effort is required for there to be further rapprochement between our peoples in mutual understanding, in culture, in information and other directions, so that, particularly at the level of people, of the working people, the mass of the people. [sentence as heard]

Visit by CSSR Foreign Minister Summarized

PM1511101188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Working Visit"]

[Text] CSSR Foreign Minister J. Johanes paid a short working visit to the Soviet Union 11-12 November.

N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met and had a conversation with J. Johanes.

E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, had a detailed conversation with J. Johanes during which the sides informed each other about progress in fulfilling the 27th CPSU and 17th CPCZ Congress decisions and held a constructive exchange of opinions on questions of the further development of bilateral cooperation and a broad range of international problems.

E.A. Shevardnadze talked about progress in implementing the 19th all-union party conference guidelines for deepening restructuring in the USSR, carrying out a radical economic reform and reform of the political system, broadening democracy and glasnost, and creating a socialist rule-of-law state.

J. Johanes gave a report on the implementation of the economic reform, the processes of the democratization of Czechoslovak society, and the results of the CPCZ Central Committee October (1988) Plenum, which confirmed the course of restructuring and the consistent implementation of the tasks set by the party, and also on the main points of the CSSR Government's program statement.

The ministers noted with satisfaction that Soviet-Czechoslovak relations are developing dynamically and in the spirit of the accords reached at the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and M. Jakes. It was stressed that it is important to further improve economic ties and make comprehensive use of the available reserves so as to increase the effectiveness of cooperation and enrich it with new forms of collaboration.

Satisfaction was expressed at the course of the development of bilateral relations in the spheres of science, culture, and education and the need was noted for the further expansion of contacts among the scientific and creative intelligentsia, young people, and social organizations.

The talks reflected full unity of views in the assessment of the present situation in Europe and the world. The main attention was paid to questions of strengthening peace and cooperation in Europe, which are based on the inviolability of borders and respect for the existing territorial and political realities. It was noted that the political climate on the continent is improving and that the idea of the "all-European home," which is indissolubly linked with the development of the Helsinki process, is gaining more and more adherents. The importance of implementing the Czechoslovak initiative on creating a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states was stressed.

The sides advocated the earliest conclusion of the Vienna meeting with the adoption of a balanced final document which is called upon to be the basis for a fruitful solution of many problems of concern to the

European peoples, the expedited formulation of a mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, and the beginning of such talks before the end of this year.

It was stressed that the statement on confidence-building measures recently adopted by the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee in Budapest augments and develops the allied countries' joint platform on questions of reducing the level of military confrontation and ensuring security on the continent. The ministers stated the impermissibility of any modernization of nuclear weapons and compensation for the reduction in intermediate- and shorter-range missiles via the deployment of new nuclear systems.

The conviction was expressed that the convening of a top-level all-European conference with the participation of the United States and Canada for the purpose of examining the question of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe would help the elaboration and implementation of a broad complex of measures in the sphere of strengthening confidence and security.

During the discussion of the situation in other regions of the world the need was stressed for an urgent and just settlement of existing hotbeds of tension and conflicts by political means on the basis of respect for each people's right to determine their own fate themselves. In this regard J. Johanes resolutely supported the Soviet stance on Afghanistan and condemned Pakistan's continuing crude violations of the Geneva agreements.

The sides advocated the strengthening of the United Nations as the world center for ensuring universal and regional security and the enhancement of the United Nations' role on questions of elaborating decisions concerning global problems, first and foremost economic and ecological ones.

The ministers noted with satisfaction the increasing cohesion of the Warsaw Pact member states and stated their determination to comprehensively promote the deepening of the coordination of the allied countries' actions and the improvement of the mechanism of their foreign policy cooperation.

The meeting was held in the traditional atmosphere of fraternal friendship, cordiality, and mutual understanding.

On behalf of the CSSR leadership, J. Johanes invited E.A. Shevardnadze to pay an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Commentary Views Johanes Visit

LD1111184488 Moscow International Service in Czech 1600 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes arrived in Moscow today on a short working visit. This visit to the Soviet Union by one of the CSSR's leading officials is a significant event in Soviet-Czechoslovak relations, our commentator Lidiya Modnova writes.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are linked by close friendship. In the life of the people of both countries there is nothing more important and significant. Together we are today removing the remnants of the past and everything old that is preventing our socialist system from discovering and expressing its huge potential. From the unity of views on solving the key problems of international life also comes a unity of action aimed at strengthening security in the world and Europe. New political thinking has become a synonym of the policy of humanism, a truly human approach to solving key life questions concerning all the people of our world. Its results can be seen for example in realizing the agreement on the liquidation of Soviet and U.S. medium- and shorter-range missiles. The realization of the Jakes plan aimed at creating a zone of trust, cooperation, and goodneighbourly relations along the line of contact between the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO also has a great future. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are convinced that the inviolability of borders and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states are a condition toward preserving security in Europe.

As Nikolay Ryzkov stressed at the recent meeting between the premiers of both countries' governments in the Soviet capital, the days of Munich are gone and any attempts at casting doubt on existing realities will meet with decisive resistance. Our countries also have a significant role in that recently there has been a visible manifestation in the world of the tendency toward and an increase in mutual trust, a reduction of confrontation, and efforts to solve complicated international problems by political means. They are jointly developing cooperation in our common European home.

The active unity of our countries and their coordinated policy on the international scene plays a significant part in achieving this goal which has great significance for the human race. There is no international or European problem of any sigificance on which the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia do not show mutual understanding and joint action. Together they defend the achievement of the fastest possible specific results in extensive political dialogue. The representatives of both states believe that a meeting of the leading officials in Europe, the United States, and Canada would make a considerable contribution to developing this dialogue.

Today, when a deep restructuring of social and economic life is taking place in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia this cooperation has acquired a new wider and deeper character. Both countries are faced with much joint work and many joint tasks. It is clear that they will only be fulfilled on a firm basis of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation. The visit by Jaromir Johanes, to the Soviet Union, and his meetings and talks with Soviet officials, will undoubtedly contribute to the strengthening the relations of both countries on these principles.

Zaykov Receives Prague's Stepan in Moscow

PM1411123188 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 88 p 1

[MOSTASS report "In a Cordial Atmosphere"]

[Text] L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, met with M. Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee 31 October.

During their conversation questions of further strengthening friendship and cooperation between the two fraternal capitals were discussed, including the holding of the traditional festival Prague Days in Moscow in December this year.

The meeting, held in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, was attended by Yu.S. Karabasov, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; Z. Horcik, mayor of Prague; and V. Pazler [name as transliterated], secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee. J. Rehorek, Czechoslovak ambassador to the USSR, was also present.

Adamec Delivers New CSSR Government Program

PM1011165588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 10 Nov 88 p 3

[TASS report: "Vote of Confidence"]

[Text] Prague, 9 Nov—The main, basic point of the new CSSR Federal Government's activity is to implement the program of far-reaching economic and political reforms outlined by the 17th CPCZ Congress and subsequent CPCZ Central Committee plenums, L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Government, stressed. He was delivering a government program speech at a session of the CSSR Federal Assembly.

The speaker also noted the great significance of the Soviet restructuring experience for his country—an experience determined by the historic decisions of the CPSU, particularly those of its 19th all-union party conference. The restructuring policy, he said, allows us to make better use of the advantages of socialism, make socialism more attractive, and raise cooperation between our fraternal communist parties to a higher level.

The government intends to resolve the socioeconomic problems facing the country by developing and deepening democracy, broadening glasnost, and broadly involving all working people's organizations belonging to the CSSR National Front in the development and implementation of government policy and the monitoring of government activity, the speaker noted. We are confident that the economic reform program has every chance of success as long as it is actively supported by all working people in urban and rural areas and by the country's young people and provided all-around cooperation between the CSSR and the socialist countries—mainly the Soviet Union—is broadened and deepened.

After a discussion of the program, the deputies gave a unanimous vote of confidence in the new CSSR Government.

Poland's Orzechowski Views Reform Process

PM0811091588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 6 Nov 88 p 6

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by correspondent Irina Pirogova under the rubric "Topical Interview": "'All Are Equal Before the Truth'"; place, date not given]

[Text] Not so long ago Comrade Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, paid a working visit to our country. Despite the intensive program of his stay, he found time to meet and talk with a SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent. We present a record of that conversation for our readers' attention.

[Pirogova] Comrade Orzechowski, in 1955 you graduated from the History Faculty of Leningrad State University. Did your stay in the city of Lenin influence the shaping of your world outlook and your further destiny in science?

[Orzechowski] When I arrived in Leningrad, I was already someone with established views and a member of a socialist youth organization, but in the process of study I undoubtedly strengthened my ideological foundations and became a committed Marxist-Leninist. And—something that is also very important—I came to understand that there are different peoples, cultures, and states in the world. Because, if you only have "theoretical" knowledge and only a general concept of this, you will be unable or, at any rate, you will find it far harder to see everything happening in the world around you in its true light. But when you live for a long time in a different country, you learn not only its language but something far greater—a different culture and way of life, national features, and social and political problems, and you learn to think and to compare in the search for truth.

What I saw in the Soviet Union at that time taught me, apart from everything else, to take a critical approach to words, statements, and declarations and constantly compare them with reality. For you know that life was far from always how it was stated from platforms or written, read, and even thought. I became accustomed to the difficult science of checking words against their actual results, and this is probably one of the chief lessons I learned during my university years. I spoke of this within the walls of my alma mater this year, when the title of honorary doctor of my university was conferred upon me.

[Pirogova] Our press is now beginning to talk about socialism's new look in Poland. What is this? How does it differ from the concept of socialism with which both you and we have lived until now?

[Orzechowski] You are right. The talk is only just beginning, because only the first steps are being taken on the way to creating this new look.

I see two processes here. Above all, the need to develop socialism's new look in principle. It must be socialism directed toward the person, toward his spiritual and material needs, toward the originality and uniqueness of everyone's personality, and the possibility of revealing its merits to the maximum and directing them to the service of society.

[Pirogova] But is this gamble on individualization not at odds with our views on discipline, like-mindedness, and democratic centralism, with its indispensable condition of the minority's subordination to the majority?

[Orzechowski] You see, discipline and like-mindedness are not qualitative features of socialism. Of course, a certain public order is necessary. No society or state—neither socialist nor capitalist—can live without it. It seems appropriate to me to recall here Lenin's idea that whereas order is achieved under capitalism by economic coercion, socialism introduces into this process an element of awareness, of coordination of the interests of the individual and society. Not subordination but coordination of interests—it is then that socialism can show its advantages.

But socialism "in general" does not exist. It always contains national features. Not only in terms of form. There is also a definite type of content: history and the associated special features of national character, culture, relations within society.... A special feature of our culture is the fact that it developed at the estuarine confluence of East and West, as it were. Poland is situated in a very sensitive part of Europe—at a crossroads of historical winds and sometimes real storms and cataclysms, which have not spared my people. This has developed in Poles a heightened sense of inner independence and a desire for freedom, which has always manifested itself very vividly. Hence our very acute need for pluralism—a need historically incorporated into the political system and the way of life of the Polish people, yesterday and today.

What is to happen to the Catholic Church, for example? To the overwhelming majority of believers in the country? For it is perfectly obvious that without this majority we will not build socialism, secure the implementation of the cardinal reforms that have been conceived, or achieve the desired renewal. This too is a specific feature of the Polish aspect of socialism. Consequently, one of the party's most important tasks is to involve all the people's active forces and, of course, the believing majority in active cooperation. We are creating a democratic institution that does not exist in other countries—a permanent, durable dialogue between the socialist state and the Roman Catholic Church. Its purpose is cooperation in everything that concerns the people's vital interests, while, of course, not backing down from our ideological positions. In the process of national accord the party is seeking to incorporate in the state system those constructive forms of opposition that do not go outside the socialist system or seek to dismantle it. Why are they for socialism?... Many people believe that Poland, as the closest neighbor of the Soviet Union—a world power—cannot be outside the socialist system. Others are attracted by the historical commonality of our destinies and cultures, by Slav kinship, and by the common struggle "for our freedom and yours." Yet others say that Christ with his striving for truth, justice, and human fraternity was the first socialist. Each of these trends can and must introduce something distinctive into the model of socialism.

[Pirogova] But there is also the nonconstructive opposition....

[Orzechowski] This is those who openly oppose socialism and believe that a system has appeared that has failed to resolve a single one of the historic tasks it set and that they must do their utmost to destroy it by any means. Of course, we are talking here about an absolute minority. But it is one thing when someone thinks like this—that is his right. It is another matter if he or they begin openly setting out to harm society....

[Pirogova] Vladimir Ilich Lenin once said that a revolution is only worth something if it is able to defend itself. How do you understand today the possibility and necessity of defending the revolution in conditions of socialist democracy?

[Orzechowski] This depends on the specific circumstances. If someone tries to undermine and destroy the socialist state's foundations by certain actions, there is a law against this. But if it is a question of a marginal, dissident group, a certain tolerance must be shown. We must not arrest everyone who thinks differently to ourselves. Some might simply not understand or be conscious of the extent of their delusions. Others have become embittered on encountering injustice in their path—not such a rare phenomenon nowadays, incidentally. Yet others, in whose lives something has not worked out or has failed, are inclined to blame socialism for their own failures, imagining that everything might have been different for them under another system.

It should be admitted that there are quite a lot of such people now, in the transitional period. And we ourselves are to blame for this. We have done far from everything to protect people from social injustice and to provide them with not just tolerable but worthy, human living conditions and the right to be heard and understood.

So we must distinguish the opposition of sentiment, dissidence, and political action directed against socialism and organized into various active groupings hostile to our system. We cannot, in fact, regard as an enemy someone who has a grudge against his state because he has not received an apartment or can barely make ends meet. A wholesale approach is impossible here.

[Pirogova] What about Walesa?

[Orzechowski] Walesa too is a lesson. Of course, there can be no question of "Solidarity" in its 1981 capacity and appearance. But the Stalinist age convincingly showed us how harmful and inhuman it is to punish people for their past actions and to label them for the rest of their life. And this is harmful not only for these people but also for society itself, which considers itself democratic. Walesa too must retain the right to develop for the better and the ability to be aware of the immutable course of time and events. The Walesa of 1988 is not the Walesa of 1981. And then, seeking national concord, we cannot ignore those who are supported by certain public forces. It is not so much a matter of the man as such but of these people's attitude toward him. If they pin their hopes on him and follow him, we must try to enter into a dialogue with him. Not every dialogue yields positive results, but it must not be avoided, for all means must be utilized to achieve mutual understanding, mutual trust, and the desire to take common paths to a common goal.

[Pirogova] And bureaucracy? Which opposition does it belong to—constructive or nonconstructive? And, in general, is it an opposition?

[Orzechowski] Bureaucracy is a most dreadful disease, our common disease. You and I see too many examples where "on the quiet" it slows down and nullifies many positive ventures of our renewal and your restructuring, displeases and disappoints people, sows lack of faith in changes, and gives rise to fear of a return to the bitter times immemorial. Verbally, moreover, it is always "for" socialism. We are talking of a definite system for the management of the state, the economy, and the political and social spheres. This system must be changed. Any apparatus—party, state, economic—must play the only official auxiliary role prescribed for it: fulfill the will of the people, the party, and the state in as technically perfect a way as possible. An effective system of control and of guarantees against the sway of red tape must be formulated. It is perfectly obvious that we need firm deadlines for replacing the apparatus and schemes for transferring its workers with due regard not only for their vocational training and level of competence but also for their moral and ethical qualities. Bureaucratic deformation is the greatest danger for socialism. Deliverance from it is in many ways a guarantee of whether socialism will develop and be able to reveal its essence and fulfill its lofty purpose. This is easy to say, but the matter is proceeding with difficulty because we ourselves created this system over the decades, "not sparing ourselves." And, whether we like it or not, we are in many ways children of this system. Even while being committed supporters of renewal and restructuring, we are "genetically" infected if not with bureaucracy itself then with its derivatives—above all, a stereotyped way of thinking and acting. Never, not even unconsciously, do we attempt to carry out renewal and restructuring using old, obsolete methods.

Those who have realized the impossibility of this path and attained a level of fundamentally new thinking have rendered a special historic service to socialism. And the very presence of such people in our life and their titanic activity, courage, and optimism are the best example to each of us.

Utopian socialists believed that it was necessary first to educate the perfect person and then to build the perfect society.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin was convinced that the building of the new society must be begun with the human material inherited from the old world.

[Pirogova] You are a historian and a social scientist. But you would not deny the obvious truth that during this, perhaps the most complex period in the socialist society's existence, the social sciences have proved not to be up to scratch, would you?

[Orzechowski] Yes, this is unfortunately so. Over the past decades the social sciences have become the handmaiden of a policy that has not always been just. It seems to me the greatest misfortune that they have lost the capacity for a critical, analytical attitude toward reality. We have always readily criticized the past. Capitalism. Under Brezhnev it was considered good form to criticize Khrushchev. There is even a certain aspect of a relieved approach in the way we criticize the time of stagnation today. But is it possible to criticize a time at all? For its portrait was painted by people and trends who have not vanished into oblivion but are still alive today.

Losing the critical approach to contemporary processes, the social sciences ceased to be a science and lost the capacity for forecasting, replacing it with fantasies that pleased a particular individual and his entourage. Then it turned out that communism would be built in 20 years, that we would overtake capitalism in all regards, that religion would die out with the growth of education, and so forth. It was in the order of things that the political leaders had no need of true science. But scientists who had not lost the ability to analyze the state of affairs were convinced that the state had no need of them. This was at best! At worst a grim fate awaited them. How many first-class scientists, adherents of Marxism, left the party during those years. We ourselves flung them into the opposition. This, too, is our common pain.

[Pirogova] We know that the Third All-Polish Theoretical Ideological Conference is to be held at the end of this year. Obviously, its tasks are directly linked with the problems broached in our conversation. What will this be—a search for further paths? A drawing of lessons from history? Although it is said that the chief lesson of history is that no one draws lessons from history. Will it be possible, in your opinion, to refute that postulate?

[Orzechowski] Our first goal is to correctly pose questions connected with the chief problems of socialist renewal, for in the social sciences the correct formulation of a question is the start of the matter. Yes, of course it is necessary to interpret the past, but it strikes us as most important to analyze the present critically: What is changing in our society and what trends are appearing? What is the essence, the class substance, and the boundaries of Polish socialist pluralism? We have to understand ways to transform the types and forms of ownership and the methods of its administration under conditions of socialist management and observe the principles of social justice. The question of defining the party's role and the form and methods of its apparatus' work under the new conditions is an urgent one.

We must get a clear idea of the features of socialism's new look. Which traits of its image are accidental and associated with the vacillation, problems, and special features of the transitional period? What basic, fundamental things must we take from the past? We use Marxist-Leninist methodology in our approach to the analysis of these problems. No one has yet thought up a more effective and dialectical methodology for analyzing reality. We hear it said that Marxism has aged. People first started speaking out loud about this "aging" at the end of the last century. It is not Marxism that has aged but our stereotypes for understanding it. It still contains everything that we can use not only to explain the social processes taking place but also to change them. It is another matter that Marxism today, at the end of the 20th century, demands an attitude to itself with experience of what has been lived through and endured.

[Pirogova] It has become commonplace to say that young people are our future. Tomorrow belongs to them. But it is difficult not to see the Polish young people's growing dissatisfaction with their position. This is manifested both in certain disturbances among students and in the "drain" of young people going abroad. My young compatriots also have similar sentiments, even though not in such an overt form—this is no secret either. You are a professor and, thus, a mentor of young people. What do you think should be done to make socialism's destiny the destiny of young people? How are they to be taught not only to argue and destroy but to propose and build?

[Orzechowski] There is one way—to return to young people their faith in the meaning of what we are trying to create.

So far we have probably not managed to convince young people that, regardless of which way destiny turns and how socialist renewal proceeds, it is they who will take the country's future into their hands in 10-15 years. For this is, apart from everything else, a natural biological process.

We have not managed either to reveal to those who will take our place the meaning of what is happening today. And we too are to blame for the fact that many of the young people's social and material problems which make up the foundation of life have not been resolved today. Housing is one of the urgent not only social but also political issues. If a young engineer or physician must wait almost 10 years and sometimes even longer for an apartment, how can we demand of him total dedication and the conviction that the state values him and is concerned about him? Like you, we have not yet created a rational system of remuneration according to labor. If a vocational and technical school graduate or someone who has completed a driver's course earns twice or even three times as much as a young physician or engineer, this is even worse than wage leveling. This flawed order of things must be resolutely eliminated, otherwise all our appeals to young people will go unanswered, and there will be no one to continue the great cause we have begun of transforming and renewing the country.

This is the answer. We must change the system and build a world in which the natural rebellion of young people will assume not a destructive but a creative nature. Please do everything we have conceived together with us, more quickly and better than we. If this succeeds, the conflict of which we are speaking will not happen. And it is very good that we understand this today and are speaking of this. Of course, the personal example of each one of us is important too.

All are equal before the truth.

Bulgaria's Markov Visits Ukraine 1-4 November

AU1011130588 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 5 Nov 88 p 2

[RATAU report: "Intensifying Cooperation"]

[Text] Multifaceted and truly fraternal in its nature, Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation develops intensively and fruitfully in all spheres, while the aspects of it are being perfected. The Ukrainian SSR actively participates in this process. The republic's scientists, in particular, make their contribution toward the successful implementation of the long-term program for developing economic and scientific cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Direct contacts have been established between the leading institutes of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and the related Bulgarian scientific institutions and enterprises, and joint scientific and production associations, enterprises, and laboratories are being created. Prospects for and ways of further expanding and deepening activity in this field were discussed during the visit paid to the Ukraine from 1 to 4 November by a delegation headed by Stoyan Markov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the State Committee on Quality of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

S. Markov was received by S.I. Gurenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member and secretary, and V.G. Urchukin, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman and chairman of the Commission for Scientific-Technological Progress under the republic's Council of Ministers Presidium.

The guests visited the academy's Extra Hard Materials Institute, the Ye.O. Paton Arc Welding Institute, the V.M. Glushkov Cybernetics Institute, the I.M. Frantsevich Material Science Institute, and the Institute for Problems in Casting. He also made a trip to Cherkassy and visited the "Rotor" scientific and production association there.

A businesslike conversation was held in the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences. B.Ye. Paton, president of the republic's Academy of Sciences, and S. Markov discussed in a friendly atmosphere the ways to expand and deepen scientific and technological cooperation, to specify the directions of joint research and operations, and to speed up the direct application of scientific achievements in practice.

West Europe

Bessmertnykh Makes Stopover in Turkey

LD1311175988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Istanbul, 13 Nov (TASS)—USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh made a stopover here today en route from Tehran. During his conversations with N. Kandemir, Turkey's under secretary for foreign affairs, issues concerning the development of bilateral relations in various spheres were discussed, and the situation in the Near and Middle East was considered. Particular attention was paid to the Afghan problem. The sides reached an agreement regarding the continuation of Soviet-Turkish political dialogue, including at the highest level, and taking into account the mutual interest in developing such contacts, and the favorable trends that are developing in bilateral relations.

Levin Views Jenninger's Kristallnacht Speech

LD1211232188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] Many people obviously know already that Philipp Jenninger, the president of the West German Bundestag, has resigned. This is a consequence of the indignation aroused by his speech in the Bundestag. In this speech he essentially praised Hitler's activity—before 1938, it is true. I have in front of me a report on an interview given by Jenninger to West German television. It was given after his resignation. Jenninger said literally this: I very much regret that I have hurt some feelings. It will be a lesson for me. In our country you cannot say what is what about everything. Well, what is there to say in this connection? I put this question to my colleague, Viktor Levin:

[Levin] Yes, Jenninger's scandalous speech gave rise to a storm of indignation. About 50 people walked out of the Bundestag sessions hall in protest while Jenninger was still at the rostrum. The world's press reacted in a very stormy fashion to his speech, too. Less than 24 hours later Jenninger announced his resignation from his Bundestag office.

In principle this is a natural and legitimate conclusion corresponding to the standards of democracy. The fact that he did not get away with his scandalous speech is evidence of a kind that the glorification of nazism is resolutely rejected in today's FRG. But I deliberately used the words "of a kind" because the bowing and scraping of prominent political figures in the FRG in the face of Jenninger prevents me from making an outright conclusion like that. He is supposedly all right, the only thing is he did not put it very well. Then there are his own words in the television interview. Jenninger assures us that he set out nothing but historically reliable facts.

But judge for youselves: The years between 1933 and 1938 give rise to admiration even today when you look back at them over a historical distance—and I am quoting Jenninger. He even listed specifically what in his opinion ought to be entered into the credit side of the Nazi balance sheet: the return of the Saarland to the German state, the introduction of universal military conscription, massive armament, the conclusion of the German-British agreement on quantitative parameters for naval forces, the taking of the Rhineland, the Summer Olympic Games in Berlin, the Anschluss with Austria and the declaration of the great German Reich, and finally the signing of the Munich agreement and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

Yes, Jenninger conscientiously enumerated the main landmarks in the activities of the Nazi state, but how can anyone today regard it as an achievement to make feverish preparations for war or to partition Czechoslovakia? Dealing with the bloody Jewish pogroms, the Bundestag official had the following to say: Did the Jews in the past not take upon themselves a role that was inappropriate for them? According to Jenninger's logic, the result is that the Jews are almost themselves guilty of the pogroms! Jenninger now asserts that he prepared his speech himself, that he did not discuss it with anyone. But I cannot get away from the thought: What lies behind this speech? Was it something that happened by chance? Or was it what one might expect in a certain set of circumstances? Although Jenninger says he was misunderstood, I cannot accept that he is a simple little blockhead who did not know what he was doing when he spoke in that way on the 50th anniversary of the bloody outrage against the Jews perpetrated by the Nazis. The speech is not just Jenninger's own personal affair, said Hubert Kleinert, leader of the Greens fraction in the Bundestag. I share that point of view.

Latin America & Caribbean

Solovyev Meets Cuban Consul in Leningrad

PM1411162388 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 88 p 1

[LENTASS report: "Stengthening Business Ties"]

[Text] Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad party obkom, yesterday received Rafael Suarez Taberes, consul general of the Republic of Cuba, who has recently taken up his post in Leningrad.

During a friendly conversation satisfaction was expressed with the high level of Soviet-Cuban relations in various spheres and with both sides' desire to add a new dynamism to the development of these relations. Yu.F. Solovyev stressed that Leningraders have traditionally maintained good relations with the Republic of Cuba, and especially with their twin city, Santiago-de-Cuba. Many enterprises including the Baltic Shipping line and other labor collectives maintain contacts with Cuban friends on a bilateral basis. Many young Cubans are studying in our city.

The leader of the Leningrad Party organization described how the working people of the city and oblast are implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference and tasks in the acceleration of restructuring and economic and social development. The results that have been achieved are good on the whole; however, at the same time many unresolved problems remain, in particular as regards providing all Leningraders with housing and implementing the Food Program.

The development of the economy, Yu.F. Solovyev noted further, is proceeding ahead of the 5-year plan targets. A great deal is being done to improve the management of the national economy, introduce new technologies and modern equipment, and enhance production efficiency. Efforts are now being focused on accelerating this process. Renewal is also under way in the political sphere. The structure of party apparatuses is changing, full power at local level is being transferred to the soviets. Restructuring has won the Leningraders' broad support. This is borne out by the report-and-election campaign in party organizations and the discussion of the draft laws on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution and on elections of USSR people's deputies. The positive changes are promoted by glasnost—one of the key conditions of the democratization of Soviet society.

The consul general expressed gratitude for the meaningful conversation, which enabled him to better understand how the working people in the city and oblast live and work for the all-around development of their region. We are convinced, the consul general said, of the necessity of restructuring in your country, and we believe in it because its aim is to improve the Soviet people's way of life.

Rafael Suarez Tabares noted the Leningraders' friendliness, which helps him and staff at the Consulate General to carry out their official duties. As a representative of a diplomatic mission of his country he regards it his paramount duty to contribute to the further strengthening of friendship and all-around cooperation between the Cuban and the Soviet peoples.

The conversation was attended by V.A. Lopatnikov, USSR Foreign Ministry representative in Leningrad.

Ortega Appeal to Incoming Administration Noted

PM1411162988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Nov 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS dispatch: "Nicaraguan Government Proposals"]

[Text] Managua, 9 Nov—Daniel Ortega, president of Nicaragua, has appealed to the United States to hold talks on security problems and on normalizing bilateral relations on the basis of mutual respect and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. Speaking on Tuesday at a news conference in Managua, he also proposed that the Central American states conclude a multilateral agreement on the immediate or gradual elimination of any foreign military presence in the region.

Nicaragua, D. Ortega said, is striving to establish a lasting peace and create a situation of mutual trust in Central America. The republic's government is ready, in particular, to come to an agreement with other states in the region not to deploy foreign military bases on their national territories, not to hold maneuvers with the participation of foreign servicemen, and to withdraw all foreign troops and foreign advisors from Central America. This would be a cardinal solution to the security problem, the president noted.

The Nicaraguan leader stressed that the United States is impeding a political settlement in Central America in every way and is destabilizing the situation in the region. In particular, Washington is trying to wreck the next meeting of the leaders of the states in the region planned for the end of November. For its part Nicaragua advocates the holding of a conference of the five Central American presidents as quickly as possible.

D. Ortega indicated the growing danger of U.S. forces' direct intervention in Nicaragua in the Reagan administration's last months in power and stressed that the Nicaraguan people are ready to ward off aggression. He called on the next U.S. Administration to observe the norms of international law and not to repeat the present administration's mistakes. Washington must cease its interference in Nicaragua's internal affairs and begin direct talks with the republic's government, the president stated.

Political & Social

Medvedev Addresses Latvian Party-Economic Aktiv

PM1511125188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on 14 November Riga meeting between V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the "Latvian SSR party-economic aktiv": "Consolidation of Social Forces for Restructuring"]

[Text] Riga, 14 Nov—By initiating a new course in April 1985, our party has confirmed that it is the conductor of society's program aims and the political force which can lead the country along the path of renewal and restructuring. For these plans to be fulfilled we need to consolidate social forces, rally all the country's working people, and back up the ideas of restructuring with practical action and real results. This was discussed at a meeting here today between V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the party-economic aktiv of the Latvian SSR.

The meeting was opened by Ya.Ya. Vagris, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

The participants in the meeting were addressed by V.A. Medvedev. He said:

Restructuring is the main determining factor of our social life and the present situation. In terms of time it has traveled only a short way—a mere 3 and ½ years—but it has produced colossal, one could say historic results.

The situation in the country has changed radically. Today our society is not what it was 3-4 years ago, and our party and our people are not the same. They have become really involved in active social life and are being drawn into the process of historic creativity.

All the ground covered by restructuring to that point was crowned by the 19th party conference. At the same time, it began a new phase—a phase of large-scale, practical implementation of planned measures.

Heated disputes, discussions, and rallies are now no longer enough—practical tasks cannot be resolved by these methods alone. Fusing word with deed and the masses' broad, meeting-based democracy with real progress in the tasks of improving our society and restructuring the forms and methods of our work is the main imperative of the time and the demand of the people.

At the same time, we have to resolve both the most vital, urgent issues and the long-term problems on which the country's achievement of the highest world level of economic and scientific and technical development depends.

Possibly the most vital issue is the food problem. The severity of this problem is felt everywhere, including in your republic. Comrades, this is our main partywide concern today.

The Central Committee is now doing a great deal of serious work to prepare for a Central Committee plenum on agrarian policy and a solution to the food problem. This problem must be brought to the forefront, together with the task of saturating the market with food and industrial goods as a whole, solving the problems of housing, medical services, education, and so forth.

We have also reached an exceptionally important stage in the implementation of radical economic reform. We have almost completed the transfer of enterprises and associations in the material production sphere to full economic accountability, which will be followed by the introduction of economic accountability principles into the work of individual rayons, oblasts, and republics. We have also reached a turning point in the development of actual production relations and ownership relations, in overcoming people's alienation from the means of production, and in really putting them in charge.

Questions of reforming the political system are now being moved into the forefront of party activity and are becoming the focus of discussion. This is now perhaps the main issue in terms of its significance for restructuring. After all, it is a question of powerful advances in implementing the fundamental political principle of socialism—giving full power to the working people, ensuring their practical involvement in solving all state and social tasks, and overcoming their alienation from authority.

The country is discussing the first two political documents beginning the restructuring of the political system—the draft Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies.

The overwhelming majority of Soviet people regard the draft laws as a major step forward along the path of democratization and the realization of the 19th party conference decisions.

At the same time, we cannot ignore a different kind of reaction to the published drafts, with its categorical rejection—basically presented as an ultimatum—of the drafts on the grounds that they supposedly run counter to the 19th party conference decisions, somehow limit democracy, and intensify the centralist principle. In a number of cities and rayons in the republic people have even begun collecting signatures to letters and resolutions opposing the adoption of the constitutional amendments, and an unhealthy psychological atmosphere is being created around this issue.

I have discussed this with various people, from top legal experts in the republic to students, and even with groups of people who have spontaneously formed in the streets. To briefly summarize the essence of these conversations, I will say this. Adopting the two drafts will not complete but begin work on restructuring the political system. The documents under discussion describe only the structure of the highest bodies of state power and the electoral system.

With regard to other problems connected with improving legislation—regulation of the national state structure, the rights and prerogatives of republics and local bodies, citizenship, and language—these documents are not concerned with those problems. They are subjects for future work.

I feel it very necessary and timely for the republic's party-economic aktiv to play a more decisive role in explaining the drafts. We must ensure that the republic's working people correctly understand the draft laws under discussion, see through attempts to distort the spirit and the letter of these documents, and feel confident that, in the sphere of political reform, the party is firmly following the course of the 19th all-union party conference.

In the conditions of restructuring, democratization, and the creation of a rule-of-law state, the tasks of improving interethnic relations are becoming particularly important and relevant.

Two days ago, the press published the CPSU Central Committee resolution on preparations for a Central Committee plenum "On Improving Interethnic Relations in the Soviet Union," which is to be held in mid-1989. This work will be based on the political guidelines of the 19th all-union party conference. But even now, without waiting for the plenum, we must take vigorous action to resolve serious issues complicating the situation, particularly in the social sphere and in the development of national culture and language. These problems really do exist, including in Latvia. They must be solved.

One such problem is that of cadres' being brought into the republic from outside—mainly into industry and construction. It is impossible not to see that this has created an unfavorable demographic situation for the indigenous population. At the same time, inaccurate, superficial, even simply biased opinions have become widespread in the interpretation of this problem. One such opinion is that some people are supposed to have arranged matters specially so that the proportion of Latvians among the republic's population as a whole steadily declines.

It would, quite simply, be wrong to see some evil design against the indigenous population of any republic. This has never been the case, nor is it now. But matters have reached the point where people are saying that the status of their republic is in jeopardy.

There is certainly no reason to make any claims against people who come to the republic. This problem troubling the Latvian people must be positively resolved despite everything. But it must be solved on the basis of democratic measures and respect for the rights and dignity of every citizen.

If you assess the demographic situation in the republic soberly, without prejudice—and I have exchanged opinions on this with the leaders of your enterprises and economic experts—it becomes clear that the slow pace of scientific and technical progress is the main factor at the root of the chronic tension in the balance of labor resources. For example, fixed production capital obsolescence is higher in Latvia than in other republics. Plan targets for the development of science and technology are not being met. The proportion of workers engaged in manual labor is approximately one-third in industry and more than one-half in construction.

The problem of defining the republic's role in the all-union division of labor occupies a large place among the key issues of interethnic relations. Latvia plays an important, ever growing role in the country's national economic complex.

The republic has won recognition in the country as a major center of the processing industry, electronics, radio electronics, and communications. But these sectors cannot exist without the support of base sectors of the country's industry—metallurgy, power generation, and others.

As far as agriculture is concerned, Latvia has developed into a recognized region of intensive meat and dairy farming. This specialization is underpinned by the provision of feed and forage grain. Mineral fertilizers and bread grain are brought in.

There is no doubt that simple trade must be transformed into different, more progressive economic forms. Realizing the idea of republic economic accountability, which is now being actively discussed, must in our view lead in this direction. We proceed on the basis that the development of this area of economic reform must not be in the direction of regional isolation, autarchy, and work only for oneself. It would also be impossible to curtail existing economic ties, let alone sever them completely.

Nor can we allow republic economic accountability to lead to the replacement of union centralism with republic centralism or to the replacement of departmental diktat with local favoritism. The real point of regional economic accountability is to transfer all enterprises—

irrespective of whose jurisdiction they are under—to full economic accountability and set their relations with local bodies on a permanent, normative economic basis.

One of the central interethnic issues is language policy. Our party policy is quite clear in this respect and has been repeatedly confirmed. The essence of this policy lies in strict observance of Leninist principles and in recognition of all languages' right to freely develop and have full value. The slightest coercion or excessive administration is intolerable in this respect.

Understanding of this is apparent in respect for the language of every people and the creation of the conditions for its development and study. It is gratifying that most of Latvia's Russian-speaking population tries to master the language of the indigenous nationality in your republic. At the same time, I have been told that the satisfaction of these natural needs is still coming up against considerable difficulties: Often there is nowhere to study, teaching is poorly organized, and there is a shortage of teaching cadres trained for this. We must assume that this can be rectified.

Restructuring is impossible without unity of will and unity of action. That is why the main thing now is to consolidate social forces. This is not a concession to anyone. It is necessary to everyone who is really in favor of restructuring and who is not being cunning by praising it. An awareness of common responsibility and an understanding by all citizens of the need for a calm, well considered social dialogue full of realism and common sense are leading to unity on the fundamental basis of revolutionary renewal. Undemocratic, forceful methods, insulting attacks, and shows of impatience are intolerable. But this is happening in the republic. And it often becomes aggressive and threatens the process of restructuring.

A great deal depends on active participation in uniting the social forces of the working class. Its cementing will in the defense of socialism's fundamental values and its internationalism are very important factors in overcoming national disunity. The same can be said of the role of rural workers in restructuring. Social consolidation is inconceivable without the intelligentsia, which, we are sure, enjoys enormous, deserved respect in the republic. The people listen to its voice and its opinion. But great influence also means great responsibility. This must be gauged by any word, any action calculated to evoke a broad public response.

The vanguard role of party organizations and every Communist must be fully apparent in the complex situation that has now developed in the republic.

Party committees and organizations now have to be real political, ideological leaders. While concentrating their attention on political work, they must also master to perfection the art of political work among the masses, integrate the aims of different social groups, help to eliminate misunderstanding and discord, move common interests into the foreground, and strengthen the alliance of all sincere participants in restructuring.

How is this to be done? The answer is clear: You have to work with the masses, with people. Communists must take a clear ideological stand. A wait-and-see attitude and unprincipled agreement for its own sake is not in the spirit of our Leninist party. Comrades, we must learn to defend our values in the conditions of socialist pluralism. We must cleanse society of everything borrowed that distorts socialism. We must cleanse our history and our conscience of deformations. But in this respect it is important to say firmly and clearly: All who now threaten our system, our future, can have no illusions as to the kind of response they will ultimately receive from our people.

We need a clear, unambiguous line and a convincing, scientifically substantiated program. All party organizations and every Communist must take an active stand when putting all this into practice.

A great deal depends on how and in whose interests the mass media are used. There is no doubt that their work must be based on the most democratic principles. But before anything is printed in the press, people must stop and think three, perhaps even ten times, how this will affect ethnic relations and the mood and feeling of the whole population.

The question of the irreversibility of restructuring, V.A. Medvedev said in conclusion, is a question of practical work to a decisive extent. Success depends on the desire and ability of all social forces without exception, all peoples of the Soviet Union to link their life's goal and their destiny to restructuring.

I am confident that the Latvian people, the republic party organization, and its leadership will be able to honorably fulfill their tasks and make their own contribution to the common cause of restructuring society—a democratic, humane society, wholly concerned with people.

Addressing the meeting, A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; G.M. Grineva, Hero of Socialist Labor and tuner at the VEF Production Association; I.A. Daudish, secretary of Riga party gorkom; D.E. Ivans, chairman of the Latvian People's Front; G.A. Zemribo, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Court; and Ya.A. Geyba, first secretary of the Daugavpilsskiy party raykom, analyzed the course of restructuring in the republic and talked about the difficulties arising at the present stage.

An honest and interested exchange of not always concurring opinions on questions of the further democratization of social life and the radical reform of the country's political and economic systems took place during V.A. Medvedev's 11-14 November stay in the Latvian SSR.

The informal nature of the many conversations and discussions that arose at enterprises and establishments was a distinguishing feature of this tour by the CPSU Central Committee secretary. The republic's inhabitants greeted V.A. Medvedev with flowers, welcoming folk songs, and banners with calls to preserve political objectivity in evaluating the ambiguous phenomena of life in the Latvian SSR and to strengthen the friendship of the country's peoples. Other conversations arose spontaneously, right in the street.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited industrial enterprises in the republic capital, where problems of creating a new system of power and management, methods of the party's political leadership of society, and the role of the working class in uniting all public forces for the good of restructuring were discussed in pointed debates. He visited the agrofirm named for the 25th CPSU Congress in Yekabpilsskiy Rayon, which is well known in Latvia. He met with members of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, students of the Latvian State University, and rectors, secretaries of party committees, and chiefs of social sciences departments from the republic's VUZes.

In the "Ave Sol" Concert Hall V.A. Medvedev was shown creative work by children's artistic collectives. There too he had a lively dialogue with literary and art figures.

In Riga V.A. Medvedev laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin. He visited the Red Lettish Riflemen's Museum and chatted with veterans of the revolution.

V.A. Medvedev was accompanied on his tour of the Latvian SSR by Ya.Ya. Vagris.

Chebrikov Addresses Estonian Aktiv Meeting

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[TASS report: "People's Activeness Must Be Channeled Into Restructuring"]

[Text] Tallinn, 14 Nov—A meeting between representatives of the republic's party, soviet, economic, and ideological aktiv, public organizations, and independent movements and creative intelligentsia and members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took place in Tallinn on 14 November in an atmosphere of communist exactingness, openness, and frankness.

The meeting was opened and an announcement made by V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

He set forth the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's positions, and the main avenues of its activities, and the immediate and more remote goals and tasks of the republic's party organization.

They are the establishment of regional economic accountability, the implementation of political reform within the mainstream of the creation of a rule-of-law state, the solution of urgent and, as it has turned out, quite complex and contradictory questions of national relations, including the status of the Estonian language and citizenship of the republic without encroaching on anyone whatsoever, and the integration of the efforts of all nationalities living in Estonia to overcome our common difficulties. They are the stepping up of attention to social problems, health care, education, and the environment. The program of action is vast and in need of reinforcement by all inhabitants and all working people of the republic as well as the exclusion of any extremism, under whatever guise it may hide. It should become the living cause of every Communist.

We will also turn to the central organs for advice and support, V.I. Vyalyas said, and we will make proposals which are reasoned and supported by the people. We will constantly consult with the people in everything because, as Vladimir Ilich Lenin said, the party can only lead when it expresses correctly what the people are aware of. But we understand that we must also be concerned with ensuring that the people's awareness and intelligence are not worn down by irresponsible demagoguery and excessive emotions.

The situation is complex. But there is no point in dramatizing it. Composure, trust, and mutual understanding are needed in the search for compromises to back up long-term decisions which will create in us a feeling of confidence in the improvement of our life. And for that it is essential that we all feel like party comrades and act with a high degree of responsibility and a clear conscience toward the party and entire people.

Then V.M. Chebrikov was given the floor.

Our country, he said, is at a decisive stage of restructuring—the stage of the implementation of the decisions of the 27th party congress and the 19th party conference. We have taken unprecedented steps in the political, economic, social, and ideological spheres. We understand that we have both successes and setbacks in this multifaceted and complex work. Today there is a very great deal which is unfamiliar and there are many new approaches. Novelty does not bother us. We are acting with even greater responsibility and even greater activeness.

Analyzing the years that have elapsed, we can see that we are nonetheless on the correct path because we already have real deeds, we already have achievements. We are on the correct path because our interests are the interests of socialism. They are the interests of our Soviet people.

Our biggest shortage today is the shortage of time; this forces us to act, on the one hand, in a considered manner, but on the other, promptly and resolutely. Some people say that in some areas we are acting too hastily. But it is not haste, it is really a shortage of time. As is known, large-scale politics is the art of the possible. We try to be guided by these principles in our work. Our task is to preserve an atmosphere of political activeness in society. If anyone doubts this and believes that the institutions of glasnost and democratization, openness and frankness which we have won will be curtailed, he is profoundly wrong. We intend to raise our people's political activeness still further. But here we must strengthen discipline and strengthen order. There should be a strict demand for specific deeds. We must also assess cadres by the way they treat restructuring and by what they have done in practice. The demand to help the party in the matter of glasnost is made on our mass media. But at the same time it must be stipulated that the mass media should not be the private domain of the editor or of some group. They must reflect public opinion as a whole and objectively. In general we are continuing to study democracy.

We consider the main protagonist of restructuring to be our Soviet people, our working class, intelligentsia, and peasantry, the CPSU Central Committee secretary continued. And our task is to heed the people's voice. The party Central Committee Politburo constantly feels the need to be in the know about what is happening locally. Although we receive quite a lot of information of various kinds, the very best information is that which comes to us directly from the working people, from communication with enterprise, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and scientific institution collectives. It is important to exchange opinions with people, to discuss openly what we have achieved and what is impeding restructuring. It is to this end that we must investigate the situation which has taken shape in your republic and what can rightly be counted as the achievements of restructuring. The republic's public life is characterized by further democratization and is acquiring increasing dynamism. Ever new strata of the population are joining in political activity. The rapid growth of people's national self-awareness is to be observed. The republic's national economy is distinguished by quite a high level of industrial development and a high agricultural development level. Many interesting approaches in the development of the cooperative movement and the creation of joint enterprises are being displayed.

We have been in your republic for a few days. In that short time we have visited a number of enterprises. Our general impression from the meetings we have had has been good. But what I would like to say about the situation in the republic is that it is characterized by the growth of political tension, instability, outbreaks of unjustified emotions, and sometimes even actions of an extremist nature. We believe that the aggravation of the situation in the field of interethnic relations is particularly alarming. The population is dividing in labor collectives, the Komsomol, trade unions, and even, unfortunately, in some party organizations. Many alarming letters are reaching the party Central Committee and the editorial offices of our central newspapers.

While I have been here, in this brief time, I have received many letters from comrades and received several resolutions from party meetings and meetings of working people and several other documents in which Communists and citizens describe what is taking place in the republic and express their concern. What is worrying them most of all? It seems to us that it is the opposition movements which have taken shape along national lines: the People's Front and the international movement. There are a number of other public formations, but these two main movements are reaching the point where confrontation between them is acquiring an increasingly acute nature. I do not intend at today's aktiv to analyze in detail the actions of either front. That can be the subject of a special talk. It is probably better for you yourselves to investigate this. But proceeding from what I have seen and what I have heard, I can say that the People's Front has the opportunity to say as much as it wants on radio and television and that the entire press is filled with statements of the positions of the People's Front. Representatives of the People's Front have been received in Moscow, at the USSR Supreme Soviet. So far the international movement has no such opportunity to voice its viewpoint either on radio or television. It only recently held a meeting and put forth its view. The question immediately arises: Why such unequal opportunities? If there is a clash between viewpoints and if both movements say that they are in favor of restructuring and want to help the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee implement restructuring in the republic, why do they have unequal opportunities for putting their views? We must learn the art of debate and put forth our positions in a reasoned manner, and then this will benefit restructuring and help the Central Committee to make decisions more correctly.

Of course, V.M. Chebrikov continued, to work correctly, to correctly lead the matter further, we must look into the reasons, designate these reasons, and analyze what the issue is. I would like to cite several reasons for the tension in the republic. We consider one of them to be the fact that the republic's party organization lagged behind events for a while, avoided resolving acute issues, and at the same time did not notice the growth of the masses' activeness. For this reason in some places it is now having to catch up, to intervene promptly in some places in particular events and affairs which are taking place in the republic. I have had detailed talks with Comrade Vyalyas both in Moscow and here. I have seen that plans for active intervention in the events have appeared at the Central Committee bureau. What is required of the Central Committee, and what is required of the Central Committee bureau? The party must control events and lead them; only then can we count on success.

One more reason: The party Central Committee and the republic's government have allowed serious blunders in the field of socioeconomic policy, in the field of interethnic relations. This has affected the situation we have today and international and patriotic education. That is obviously the main thing. There are a number of other factors and circumstances influencing the situation. We must constantly analyze the situation and look and see to make decisions to stabilize it. Our aim is the stabilization of life in the republic. Society must be given the opportunity to live normally, to work normally, to create families, and to rejoice in everything good and fine. In general, to live like human beings. But some people are obviously pursuing different aims. Let them give true consideration to why they are preventing people from living normally. Why should there be tension in the republic because of their selfish motives? What stands behind this? Who needs this, and what is the final aim of those who are exciting people?

A kind of ultimatum tone is noticeable in a number of documents, publications, and statements. An ultimatum in discussing the drafts of the law on amendments to the Constitution and on the elections of people's deputies. It is known from history that the ultimatum form has never brought anyone success. It always creates a deadlock from which it is very difficult to emerge. If we do succeed in emerging from it, then it is with some losses and costs. If there are questions which bother people, then these questions must be answered. But we can no longer gear ourselves toward the ultimatum tone of a few people or one particular group, can we? We must consider the majority.

Now let's talk about language. The hastiness with which the draft republican law on language was published is bewildering. Why such haste, why is this being done, for what purpose? The country's leadership must engage in far more complex and diverse work throughout the country on the languages issue. After all, you know that there are over 100 nationalities and ethnic groups in the country. We have ethnic groups which number only 1,000 people. And we are engaged in preserving the culture of such ethnic groups, preserving their customs, preserving their national dignity, history, and language. But for some reason you have become worried that someone is encroaching on your language. The illegal collection of signatures to various protests is bewildering. There are pickets in some places. This is extremely dangerous. I believe that you must find the forces to stop all this. How to stop it and what to do is for you to decide for yourselves. No one here will come to help you in that sense.

The speech delivered by Comrade Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the CPSU Central Committee secretary continued, formulated a number of tasks. I believe we must agree with the position he set forth. We must solve these tasks. It seems to us that in the atmosphere which has taken shape in the republic, clear-cut political assessments are needed. I stress that it is necessary to elaborate regulated political assessments and a specific plan of action, above all for the party Central Committee. All party committees and party organizations must be armed with this plan of action. Party leadership of the mass media must be stepped up. They are performing a large amount of useful work. The party Central Committee must clearly define its position with regard to all public movements and increase party influence there because, I repeat once again, they have all been created in the name of restructuring, are in favor of restructuring, and support restructuring. Naturally there must be party influence and party leadership there, and they must be helped. I urge you to take a somewhat broader look at these problems. To look at them from the viewpoint of the collective, the rayon, the republic, and the entire country. That can help you. Your organization should cut off those who are parasites on democratization. Such people have already appeared. At the same time those questions requiring a solution must be resolved. You must not wait for anything; you must not put it off for later. Publications kindling national hostility should not be allowed in the mass media.

A few words about problems of a republican nature. I want to say that some people are expressing the view that the union organs have a negative attitude toward the idea of republican economic accountability. Before coming to visit you I asked many comrades about this and I did not hear such opinions. In addition, regional economic accountability is mentioned in the 19th party conference resolution "on interethnic relations." Incidentally, at the next plenum we will resolve this question, consult with you, and listen to your proposals.

The Estonian SSR is the initiator of republican economic accountability. Right now it is one of the participants in the experiment. In the process of preparing for the plenum we will have to analyze thoroughly once again the economic expediency of regions' transition to economic accountability. To examine questions of combining the greater independence of union and autonomous republics with their responsibility for ensuring the country's common needs. The party and state organs support the idea of the republic's economic accountability. We are now approaching the practical implementation of the matter. Territorial economic accountability is something new. It has not yet been tested, and that must be taken into account. As in any new matter, a hasty and still more a rash decision could compromise it. The economy is an extremely complex and organic mechanism. A unified national economic complex has taken shape in the country and the regional division of labor operates. That is why I urge you to approach very seriously the elaboration of a new socioeconomic model for the republic or region. This problem affects the interests of all national republics belonging to the Union. The wealth of each republic and each region was created by the entire country and the destiny of this wealth must be decided together.

A last point: The slogan which can help the republican party organization find the correct paths in its activity is consolidation. That is the most paramount task. If any of the comrades has another slogan, please, we are prepared to hear it.

The political situation in the republic must be mastered. The actions of the party organizations, soviets, creative unions, Komsomol, administrative organs, mass media, and other public formations in favor of restructuring must be coordinated precisely. You must rely more boldly on the workers collectives and enlist the creative organizations on your side. The enthusiasm and initiative generated by renewal and working people's healthy dissatisfaction with the results which have been achieved must be channeled into creation and consolidation. It is necessary to embark on compromise and mutual concessions and to take reality into account. You must find what unites, not what divides.

Here I would like to recall the words spoken by M.S. Gorbachev during his visit to the republic in February last year about how the friendship of the Soviet peoples can be strengthened and augmented and interethnic relations can be further improved only on the sole correct basis—the basis of internationalism.

Special attention must be paid to the reports and elections taking place in party organizations, and the future composition of the party organs must be the fully empowered representative of the working masses, a real vanguard in the struggle for restructuring. All those standing in the way of consolidation should be firmly rebuffed.

In conclusion V.M. Chebrikov said:

The republic's party organization is gathering strength and restoring its prestige. I wish you, comrades, creative work in implementing the decisions of the 27th party congress and the 19th party conference.

The meeting was addressed by M. Bronshteyn, chief of the Tartu State University political economy department; E.-A. Sillari, first secretary of the Tallinn party gorkom; A. Say, member of the International Movement coordination council; E. Pyldroos, chairman of the board of the Estonian SSR Artists Union; V. Yarovoy, director of the V.I. Lenin union "Dvigatel" plant; T. Laak, first secretary of the Tartu party gorkom; V. Malkovskiy, first secretary of the Narva party gorkom; V. Beekman, chairman of the board of the Estonian SSR Writers Union; T. Kork, first secretary of the Rakvereskiy party raykom; I. Shepelevich, director of the Kh. Pegelman electrical equipment plant; M. Lauristin, member of the board of the Estonian People's Front and chief of the Tartu State University department of journalism; and B. Tamm, rector of the Tallinn polytechnic institute. They voiced the most diverse opinions on various problems and questions and set forth their views of the situation and the reasons which have given rise to it, but they were united in the main thing—the Communists and entire people of Estonia have just one path—the consolidation of efforts to march confidently along the course of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which was given specific form for the republic by the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. For this, the speaker noted, a sober, sensible approach, a policy of compromises and mutual concessions leading to the union of all forces of the supporters of restructuring must prevail.

On the same day V.M. Chebrikov spoke on Estonian television and radio.

Further Reportage on Slyunkov Visit to Lithuania

Addresses Activ

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[TASS report: "More Independence and Concentration on Constructive Actions"]

[Text] Vilnius, 14 Nov—Questions of socioeconomic acceleration and renewing the political system in our society were at the center of attention during meetings and conversations between N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in the Lithuanian SSR, and working people.

Acquainting himself with the progress of restructuring in the republic, he visited working collectives and talked with peasants and the intelligentsia. These meetings were frank and comradely. Current affairs were discussed openly with a sense of responsibility for the cause of restructuring, the country, and socialism.

To conclude his stay in Lithuania, the CPSU Central Committee secretary met with the republic's party, soviet, and economic aktiv.

Restructuring is resolving many problems, N.N. Slyunkov said. But the CPSU considers the main one today to be the consistent implementation of political and economic reforms—a single organic entity.

The main avenues of the radical reform of our political system were determined by the 19th party conference. The clear separation of functions between party and state organs is the cornerstone of the reforms. Now that the processes of democratization have made profound inroads, we are obtaining real opportunities to do away with the practice of party committees supplanting soviet organs and to exclude petty tutelage of trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations.

The reports and elections now under way within the party are giving us a good opportunity to nominate and elect active people who think in an unorthodox fashion, are skilled in business, enjoy trust and prestige among Communists and nonparty people, have been trained well in life's school, are aware of people's needs, and are able to work with them.

We see the aim of the current changes in our political system as being to create a truly democratic and harmonious system of party leadership and state management for the country.

One of the most important tasks of political reform is to make the soviets sovereign masters on their territory and the motive force in its economic, social, and cultural development. Soviet organs in republics, krays, oblasts, and rayons will obtain an opportunity to resolve independently all their questions in light of the specific characteristics of their territory. Organs of people's power will express and defend their voters' interests more consistently and purposefully.

The draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the Constitution and on the Election of USSR People's Deputies are now being discussed nationwide. Active discussion is under way, various viewpoints and opinions are being encountered, and proposals, additions, and amendments that reflect the wishes of Soviet people are being put forward in order for these laws to be better and more complete.

The amendments to the USSR Constitution have the same political thrust as our revolutionary restructuring. We want to ensure that there is more socialism and more democracy in our society, that the interests of the working class, the peasants, the intelligentsia, and all working people are brought to the maximum fruition, and that the republics have broader rights in our multiethnic, socialist, federal state. This is the path of the party and it is above all the path of the Soviet people.

The nationwide discussion of the draft Laws on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Constitution and on Elections of People's Deputies is designed to create conditions for the implementation of the first phase of political reform. The adoption of the draft laws with these constructive additions and amendments that have been put forward by working people will make it possible to improve the composition of the soviets, further improve their structure, and restructure the style and methods of work.

But however successfully these questions are resolved, the soviets will not fulfill their purpose if broad social forces are not involved in their activity and if opportunities for popular initiative and for the unofficial participation of the masses in management are not fully exposed. This is attained through close cooperation between the soviets and the trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations, voluntary societies, and movements. Under conditions of restructuring, there must be more exploration, more democratism, and more concentration on high end results in the work of these organizations.

The emergence of new informal associations of working people, veterans, women, and young people is a sign of the times. This accords with the party line of forming a system to represent the interests of various population groups. The emergence of such organizations expresses Soviet people's desire to supplement the activity of institutions that have already taken shape and enrich the forms of their participation in restructuring, in strengthening socialism, and in shaping a democratic rule-of-law state.

The CPSU respects public organizations' right to defend their positions which do not contravene the principles of socialism and which are aimed at implementing its advantages. The party is ready to discuss any questions with anyone who is in favor of restructuring and renewal.

In other words, the process of shaping the population's political culture, the culture of glasnost and democracy, is under way. This affects the interests of all Soviet society, and the party cannot be subjective or indifferent to this.

Taking into consideration all the diversity of opinion, the party is ensuring balance in public interests and harmoniously combining them on the basis of Soviet laws. Only then can all public forces function effectively in a socialist rule-of-law state.

Citizens' interests must be reliably defended from any arbitrary rule. But democratic rights and freedoms also presuppose citizens' strict fulfillment of their commitments. We will not complete restructuring, N.N. Slyunkov said, without boosting responsibility before the law and society and without order and conscious discipline.

He stressed that our multiethnic federal state increases the might and prosperity of each of its peoples. During the years of Soviet power a tremendous step forward has been taken in developing the economy and culture of all the peoples inhabiting our country, toward their effective equality and comprehensive cooperation in light of their common and specific interests. Socialist Lithuania can serve as an example of this.

However, life has shown that we have by no means done everything as required. The ethnic factor and its role in our state were clearly underestimated. Sometimes healthy ethnic interests turned out to be nationalist interests. At the same time, unfortunately, you meet individual cases where the ethnic factor becomes hypertrophied and, if these phenomena are not assessed in a timely fashion, they may turn into nationalism with all its potential negative consequences. Under these conditions we all need to display high political maturity and culture in order to prevent emotional upheaval and irresponsible people playing on ethnic sentiments.

We cannot in the slightest forgo such an achievement of our system as socialist internationalism and the sense of the united family of the peoples of the Land of the Soviets. Soviet patriotism embodies love for the motherland, pride in its historical gains, pain over its troubles, intolerance of its shortcomings, and a desire to make our society and the Soviet Union even richer and more powerful.

The main gain of restructuring is people, the real changes in their mentality, and the emancipation of their consciousness. Restructuring has straightened people's backs and has created a new social and moral atmosphere in society. But it has convincingly shown that wishes are not enough to make changes. Wishes won't bring changes without actions. Today everyone needs to become aware of their involvement in and responsibility for everything that is being done around them.

The party sees the program for democratizing and renewing the political system as inseparable from the reform of the economic system, the CPSU Central Committee secretary went on to say. It is clear to every one of us that the aims of the radical social transformations that we have begun cannot be implemented without the corresponding strengthening of the material foundation. Hence stems our line of radical economic renewal, of ensuring that administrative methods are replaced more rapidly by economic methods, of implementing scientific and technical revolution, and on this basis commissioning all potential capacities in the socialist system of economic activity.

The CPSU has adopted the course of providing social production with a social thrust and meeting Soviet people's urgent needs. That is why we are carrying out fundamental structural restructuring of the economy and are radically reforming the economic mechanism.

Thus, it is a question of revolutionary changes in productive forces and innovative transformations throughout the system of production relations. This is a new economic policy in the true sense, a policy that is consonant with all our restructuring, with its new approaches, and with the new systems and instructions that we must make full use of without delay.

The process of improving our economy has now begun and the economy is developing as a unified economic complex. It is of fundamental importance that in the last 2 years the entire increase in national income was attributable to labor productivity growth.

Talking about the republic's economic successes, N.N. Slyunkov noted that these are the result of skillful management of its economy and effective participation in the all-union division of labor and the result of selfless work on the part of the working class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia. They are also the result of the implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy.

The Lithuanian SSR has profound economic ties with other republics. While providing them with the output of its agro-industrial complex, machine tool industry, instrument making, and electrotechnical industry, it in turn meets practically all its requirements for fuel and nonferrous metals, 80 percent of its ferrous metal requirements, and more than half of its requirements for machine building output from interrepublic deliveries.

But we have no grounds for thinking, the speaker continued, that the required turnaround to the intensification of social production and to satisfying the urgent requirements of public demand has begun throughout the country as a whole and in our republic also. Economic development is still affected by the deformation of the past and by the accretions of the personality cult and the period of stagnation. Today we must pay for the conservatism of the economic structure, the outmoded nature of the production apparatus, the violation of the monetary and financial system, for the ingrained mentality of social freeloading.

In order to ensure stable socioeconomic progress, we need to supply the economy very rapidly with state-of-the-art world-class equipment, master vanguard resource-saving technologies everywhere, and radically restructure the economic structure. A very great deal depends on accelerating the creation of an effective system of management and incentives for scientific and technical progress.

These and other most important problems of scientific and technical progress were discussed in detail with the representatives of Lithuania's scientific intelligentsia.

We are doing everything to accelerate the resolution of urgent social tasks—the question of food, saturating the market with goods and services, and housing. A great deal here depends not only on central organs but also on the initiative and practical actions of local soviets and every labor collective's economic management organs.

The human factor is important in any economic system. But it is especially so under socialism, where working people are not only the main production force but also the sole subject of production relations. We need to organize relations between people in socialist production in such a way that they don't feel alienated from the means of production, so that they feel that they are full masters and see that, in working for society, they are working for themselves. That is why the party sees that the key to the success of all economic restructuring is the consistent implementation of economic reform.

The most crucial phase of perfecting the new economic mechanism in all its links—planning, commodity-money relationships, the finance and credit system, labor organization and remuneration, material and technical supply, and organizational structures—has now arrived. This mechanism must fully enter into force as of the beginning of the 13th 5-Year Plan.

The shift to [povorot k] economic policy is also linked with the new approaches to territorial management. Major intersector production and science-and-production associations are being formed, whose enterprises are located in various regions of the country. Enterprises from all ministries, including those under union jurisdiction, must now coordinate their plans with the soviets of people's deputies. The rights of union republics and local soviets with regard to ensuring their territory's comprehensive economic and social development are being substantially extended. The task now is to make the most reasonable use of each republic's natural and material resources and climatic features and incorporate their potential most rationally in all-union potential. Undoubtedly, this will benefit both every region and every republic and our entire state.

Speaking about territorial economic accountability [khozraschet], the CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out that it requires careful and comprehensive study. Appropriate decisions have begun to be prepared. This is being carried out on a democratic basis, involving all the union republics. All this was discussed at a meeting with the republic's leading economists, economic leaders, and scientists.

There are plans for Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Belorussia, and also such major regions of the RSFSR as the Tatar ASSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, and Moscow to take part in the experimental testing and breaking in of the new methods of economic activity. Breaking in the new mechanism for economic management of the republics is one of the most important areas of the radical economic reform. In conclusion N.N. Slyunkov said the following:

The party and the Soviet people are confidently proceeding along the path of restructuring. There are also difficulties on the way. But the party is inspired by the growing unity among the people and their selfless labor for the sake of Soviet society.

Those assembled devoted their main attention to topical problems of restructuring, discussed the progress of the political and economic transformations in the republic, talked about things hampering forward movement, and made businesslike proposals. The meeting voiced a number of critical remarks addressed at certain central and republic ministries, departments, and organizations. The following took part in the exchange of opinions: A.-M.K. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee; A.I. Chistyakov, secretary of Vilnius Party Gorkom; K.Yu. Klimashauskas, general director of the "Venta" Science-and-Production Association; P.K. Zablotskis, first secretary of Panevezhskiy Party Raykom; I.E. Budryavichyus, first secretary of Akmyanskiy Party Raykom; V.V. Lape, chairman of Ionavskiy Rayon's "Zheymyan" Kolkhoz; A.F. Kulakov, secretary of the Ignalina AES Party Committee; K.B. Minetas, Lithuanian SSR minister of the timber industry; V.V. Ivanov, consultant at the Vilnius City Organization of the "Znaniye" Society and representative of the Socialist Movement for Restructuring in Lithuania; and lawyer K.V. Motiyeka.

The speeches stressed the importance of further strengthening the fraternal friendship and indestructible alliance between the Soviet peoples, and improving interethnic relations.

N.N. Slyunkov answered questions from the participants in the aktiv.

Today, on the final day of his stay in the Lithuanian SSR, N.N. Slyunkov met in Vilnius with the representatives of scientific establishments and a group of leaders from the republic's enterprises. They discussed questions of accelerating scientific and technical progress.

The day before, the CPSU Central Committee secretary took a trip to Kaunas, met with the members of the party gorkom bureau, and talked with working people in the city streets. He visited Kayshyadorskiy Rayon, was familiarized with the actions and plans of horticultural sovkhoz workers, and visited an apartment block, an agricultural store, and a cafeteria.

During conversations with city and rural leaders and working people, he spoke of the need to persistently seek out reserves for increasing production efficiency, satisfying the population's social requirements more fully, providing food, housing, and consumer goods, and improving the work of the services sphere. An interested exchange of opinions took place on ways to develop local self-management and democratize all aspects of the life of Soviet society.

N.N. Slyunkov was accompanied on the trip by A.-M.K. Brazauskas.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary laid flowers on the monument to V.I. Lenin and the monument to V. Mitskyavichyus-Kapsukas in the capital of the republic.

Constitutional Changes Discussed

LD1511060488 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Today on the last day of CPSU Politburo member Nikolay Slyunkov's visit to Vilnius; the subject matter for discussions was the (?proposed) changes in the Soviet Constitution. More and more citizens and public organizations are now demanding that the draft for the

Constitution should not be considered at the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. As we have already reported, the Lithuanian reform movement, Sajudis, came out yesterday against the proposed draft and rejected it as antidemocratic and running against the spirit of the 19th CPSU conference. The same idea was expressed in the resolution adopted today by the presidium of the National Trade Unions Council of Lithuania. This is the point of view of the major public organizations in this republic.

At the same time, every grown-up citizen of Lithuania can express his or her personal viewpoint on the constitutional changes in the massive signature collection campaign which was started last Thursday. This campaign was announced by the Seimas Council of the Lithuanian reform movement, Sajudis. On the 13th of November, it was announced at the Seimas session that 1 million signatures had been collected already. This campaign is not losing momentum. In the morning, today, it has been announced that 1,500,000 signatures were collected in protest against the suggested changes to the USSR Constitution.

At the meeting with the heads of scientific institutions which was held in the afternoon today, the CPSU Politburo member Nikolay Slyunkov said that he had an impression that the questions on the constitutional changes and amendments were discussed in Lithuania in an (?unduly) nervous and emotional atmosphere. According to him, the (?massive) accusations and negation is dominant, and there is the shortage of concrete proposals. He also said that the separate declarations were entirely erroneous, not correct, and even detrimental. It emanated from these declarations that the Soviet leadership did not respect the decisions adopted by the 19th CPSU conference. Nikolay Slyunkov once again stressed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union would seek to implement all ideas reflected in the resolutions which were adopted at the 19th CPSU conference. He also said that the political reform should start from the suggested changes and amendments in the Soviet Constitution. He also said that [words indistinct] could be (?erected) the new organs of the supreme authority, which are expected to be able to consider the reform. As yet another stage of extreme importance he pointed out the CPSU Central Committee's plenum on national questions, which is planned for the next year. The discussion of the problems, stressed NIkolay Slyunkov, would create an opportunity to seriously and responsibly consider the status of union republics and regional economic self-dependence.

Nikolay Slyunkov (?admitted) that not all constitutional changes and amendments could be accepted without (?fair) improvement. The changes and amendments should be analyzed and discussed, and proposals should be made on how to improve them. For this purpose they were put forth for public consideration. Nikolay Slyunkov marked his opinion that the people in the protest pickets with whom he had talked had not grasped the essence of the suggested changes and amendments. He (?addressed) further consideration of them for the later session of the Supreme Soviet. The CPSU Politburo member Nikolay Slyunkov rejected as impossible, because the time limits allotted for the formation of new organs of power would collapse; that is the convention of the congress of Soviets and the election of the new Supreme Soviet. [sentence as heard]

In spite of these statements, the constitutional changes and amendments were criticized at the meetings attended by the Lithuanian Communist Party and economic leaders and Nikolay Slyunkov. Lithuanian representatives sharply criticized the centralized institutions for their command tendencies and (?diktat). Algirdas Zukauskas, vice- president of Lithuanians Academy of Sciences, for instance, urged to cancel the space projects which were expensive, and first of all the manned flights to the planet Mars at the beginning of the next century. The problem of the budget deficit was also voiced at several meetings. Lithuania's Finance Minister Romualdas Sikorskis has said that Lithuania was asked to cover the debts of 200,000,000 roubles. He expressed conviction that Lithuania could do that provided yet another big problem was answered. In Lithuania, after the all-round rehabilitation of the victims of Stalinist deportations, and especially when the decision was adopted to compensate those victims' material losses, Lithuania needed half a billion roubles. The finance minister, Romualdas Sikorskis, stressed that it had been Moscow that inspired those deportations. That is why either the above deficit should be cancelled or money should be given to compensate for the loss which was inflicted on the Lithuania deportees. Nikolay Slyunkov did not comment on that.

Lithuanian 'Front' Calls for New Constitution

AU1411162388 Paris AFP in English 1543 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, Nov 14 (AFP)—The Popular Front of Lithuania, a newly created legal organization known as the Sajudis, has asked the parliament of this Soviet Baltic republic to adopt a new constitution that would enshrine its "total sovereignty," a member of the Sajudis said Monday.

The spokesman, Algimantas Vaisnoras, said the request was backed Monday by student demonstrations in Vilnius, the Lithuanian capital.

The Lithuanian Soviet is to meet Thursday to consider the amendment.

"Half the population, or about 1.5 million people, have signed petitions" in favour of the amendment, Mr. Vaisnoras said. [passage omitted]

Mr. Vaisnoras said the amendment was unanimously approved by the Popular Front's parliament which has also asked that the proceedings of the Lithuanian Soviet Thursday—during which the amendment will be discussed—be televised live.

Another Sajudis official predicted that the soviet would not accept to examine the amendment—and would face the wrath of the people, whose yearning for autonomy stems from Lithuania's status as an independent nation between the two world wars.

Brazauskas on Lithuanian Movement Congress

LD0111052788 Moscow TASS in English 0516 GMT 1 Nov 88

[Text] Vilnius November 1—By ELTA correspondent Saliamonas Vaintraubas:

A foreign correspondent asked how many people in Soviet Lithuania took part in the constituent congress of Sajudis, the National Movement for Perestroyka, held late in October. Over three million, came the answer. This is not an exaggeration as the republic's television over two days constantly covered the work of the forum of this unofficial association declaring for cardinal renewal of the life of entire Soviet society, proclaimed by the CPSU.

No one could remain indifferent when questions of the revival of national dignity and of upgrading inter-ethnic relations, human rights and economic independence of the republic, social justice and the removal of "blank spots" in history, protection of culture and ecological security, restoration of justice flouted in the years of Stalinism and stagnation were discussed from this rostrum. This explains the heated debate on the programme and regulations of "Sajudis" during the election of its parliament and council.

More than 400 journalists from some 20 countries were present at the constituent congress of "Sajudis". They noted that it was of surprising openness, that any opinions, at times diametrically opposite, were freely and publicly expressed at the forum, that it was a genuine lesson in openness.

True, there were extremist calls—to separatism and national isolation. Some Western radio stations and news agencies (their representatives were present at the congress) emphasised these calls in their reports from Vilnius, disregarding the fact that the overwhelming majority of public figures—writers, scientists, masters in the arts—gave a resolute rebuff to such assertions.

The message addressed by the delegates of the congress to General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Mikhail Gorbachev says, specifically, that the "Lithuanian people is wholly for perestroyka and that 'Sajudis' advances to it in a Leninist way, through the revival of national dignity".

The delegates of the congress positively assessed the government's measures for the working out of the new economic model of the region. National symbols have been recognized in the republic again after the many years when they were disregarded. Previous names are restored to many streets, Catholic cathedrals are opened to religious people.

First secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania Algirdas Brazauskas elected the other day addressed the congress and was warmly received by the delegates. He noted that revolutionary renewal, democratisation, glasnost influenced the entire population of the republic. This is a considerable merit of "Sajudis", which takes a stand against the forces of stagnation.

After the conclusion of the congress Brazauskas told this interviewer that the public movement increased considerably in scope and emphasised that this is mainly due to the effort of creative intelligentsia, of those of its representatives who helped awaken the thought of people, its political and civic activity.

Asked what place "Sajudis" holds in the public life, the Lithuanian party leader elected to his post a day before the congress said "history shows that given the single ruling party, there is a need for various public organizations intensifying the life of society. With the assistance of the public, the party self-critically corrects its activity, which attests to its strength and its honesty. The slogan 'the plans of the party are the plans of the people' should be transformed into 'the aspirations of the people suggest plans of the party'".

One cannot agree with everything that was said at the congress, Brazauskas noted. "This means that a dialogue, mutual efforts for the strengthening of understanding, cooperation are ahead", he added. "For we have the common goal: To implement the dicisions of the 19th conference of the Soviet Communists".

Lithuanian Official on Labor Colony Revolt

PM1111162188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with A.Ye. Onisimov, Lithuanian SSR deputy minister of internal affairs, by Yu. Stroganov under the "Tracking Down Rumor" rubric: "Conflict in the Zone"; first three paragraphs are introduction; date, place of interview not stated]

[Text] The rumor from the settlement of Pravenishkes, Kayshyadorskiy Rayon, was a blow to the heart. A revolt at a corrective labor colony. Fires and riots.

To the credit of the Lithuanian news agency and the republic's MVD, these official organizations immediately clarified the issue. Subscribers to the local newspapers read the very next day the item "Hooligans' Escapade" about the real event, not the one which had grown out of stories. It was reported that at the corrective labor colony, out of motives of hooliganism, a group of convicts had committed excesses: It set fire to production premises, causing slight material damage. The colony's administration, with support from the main mass of convicts, was able rapidly to neutralize and halt the illegal actions.

Order was introduced. But what was the reason for the incident? Is this a frequent occurrence? After all, not so long ago something similar happened in a neighboring republic—in Latvia, where convicts rebelled because of terrible living conditions at the colony. I ask A.Ye. Onisimov, Lithuanian SSR deputy minister of internal affairs, to describe the conflict in Pravenishkes.

"The commission established that the conflict took place because of the slackening of the regime and the low level of exactingness toward prisoners," Aleksandr Yefimovich said. "In addition some convicts did not share 'spheres of influence.' The situation in the institution became heated. Moreover, impressions from the sensation-causing article "Out of Hand" ["Bespredel"—situation where the behavior of convicts controlling protection and other rackets inside the labor colony becomes excessive] in OGONEK were still fresh. So they began to "make trouble." I went there immediately. It was noisy, stones were flying. There were fires in the building. "What's the matter?" I asked. "What are you demanding?" "Things have gotten out of hand, chief," they shouted. We started to investigate. Things certainly hadn't gotten out of hand! There was slack control and poor discipline. We introduced order, rendered aid in organizing work, corrected a number of staffers, and dismissed others."

The deputy minister took on this difficult post less than 2 years ago. He is still relatively young, but he is by no means a novice on questions with which he must be familiar in the line of duty: He has worked in the criminal investigation department and the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and taken part in the investigation into a number of cases of murder, robbery, and embezzlement. Anxious to get to the "bottom" of the conflict, I wondered: Do these instances form an alarming trend? Do they not attest to the fact that educational work is seriously lacking? And have conditions been created for setting a person on the path of correction with the aid of labor?

"Punishment is punishment," A.Ye. Onisimov said. "And the convict should feel it, atoning for his crime. But it must be admitted that there are grounds for your questions. The problem of reeducation exists. Labor should be its means, not an end in itself. So far it is interests of a production nature which predominate in the corrective labor colony system...

[Stroganov] I have frequently heard of a man far removed from the world of crime ending up in a colony through the will of fate and being powerfully influenced by criminals. Are criminals not the ones who rule there? The conflict in Pravenishkes which arose in particular because of "spheres of influence" confirms this idea, in my opinion.

[Onisimov] Unfortunately it must be noted that it is most frequently criminals who get to be leaders. Although there are cases also where a man who is sincerely trying to embark on the path toward correction and who helps others becomes leader. Painstaking individual work is needed for things to happen in precisely that way.

[Stroganov] Nonetheless, about education: After all you yourself say that instances of a normal man becoming leader are rare. Does that mean that the return from your colleagues' labor is low?

[Onisimov] The question here is based on many complex factors. I shall not repeat myself about the features of the criminal world and existing interests of a production nature. For the time being, let's turn to one fact. At present there are just two officers directly engaged in educational work for a detachment of 120-150 convicts. What can we say here about their return.

I believe that these problems should be resolved immediately. Then it will be possible to set the task not simply of the neutralization of a negative leader but real reeducation.

[Stroganov] But will the result not be that with an increase in the number of officers the problem will simply go deeper, but its thrust will not change. Constant, unceasing control and supervision mean pressure on the individual. Will the punishment not simply be intensified and will this not lead to a global "out of hand situation" in the system? In addition, I have the feeling that you cannot resolve the problem of reeducating convicts by increasing the staff. That is the extensive approach. Fundamental restructuring and reform, as in teaching, are evidently needed.

[Onisimov] Absolutely correct. And we are already implementing this reform. Its most characteristic detail: an awareness of the fact that the convict is one of our Soviet citizens. Yes, he has transgressed the law, but our attitude toward him should be humane. A considerable improvement in communal everyday conditions in the colonies is planned. Of course, we will not start turning them into rest homes either: Punishment is punishment. But we will renounce obsolete forms, for instance all kinds of additional restrictions. We are reviewing some normatives. Thus, less money used to be allocated for food in solitary confinement cells. Restrictions on fiction and periodicals have also been lifted. An increasing number of television sets will now appear in the zones and library stocks are being expanded. Nonetheless it is my personal opinion that there are not enough people working directly with convicts. The problem must be resolved comprehensively.

New CPSU Central Committee Monthly Journal

LD1411133188 Moscow TASS in English 1255 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 14 TASS—A subscription has been opened to a new monthly journal, News of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, whose publicaton will start in January, 1989, on the decision of the Politbureau of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

The new party journal will follow traditions of news of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks published when Lenin was alive. Its publication will be in line with the demand of the 19th all-union party conference on increasing openness and glasnost in the policy pursued by the Soviet Communist Party, on a broad information of Communists and all the Soviet people about the work of the top party bodies and its other organizations.

The journal will publish official documents, including resolutions on the top party bodies, materials of plenary meetings of the Central Committee and draft resolutions on major problems of the party and public life submitted for the nationwide discussion.

The journal will regularly inform Communists and broad public circles about the everyday work of the Central Committee, its Politburo, commissions and departments of the Central Committee, will publish verbatim records of the most important sessions, conferences and meetings held at the Central Committee.

News of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee will publish materials about perestroyka in the party, both in the centre and in provinces, about a new structure of the party apparatus and about leaders of the Central Committee, of the republican and local party committees. It is planned to regularly publish reports on the election and nomination of party functionaries and their biographies. News from party organizations will feature prominently in the journal.

The journal will carry documents of the commission of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on the additional study of materials connected with repressions of the 30's, 40's and early 50's, as well as reports on the problems analyzed by the Central Auditing Commission of the party and the party control committee of the Central Committee of the party.

It is planned to publish in the journal information about the state of the party budget, its items of expenditures and credit items, about the work of the central party bodies, the development of the party press, the training of the party functionaries and the improvement of their skill.

News of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee will give a wide coverage of the mail received by the Central Committee. It is planned to publish both separate letters and the reviews of letters and oral appeals of working people to the Central Committee on the more topical problems of the life of society. The journal will write about the most important instructions issued by secretaries of the Central Committee and heads of its departments on problems raised in the letters, as well as about resolutions adopted in this connection.

Materials from the party's archives, primarily from the archive of the Central Committee, will feature prominently in the journal. It is planned to regularly publish there documents, analytical historical events of socialist development and crucial moments in the life of the party and Soviet society.

The journal will publish numerous documents that were not published before, specifically, verbatim reports of sessions, speeches, reports, instructions, letters and memoires of leaders of the party and the Soviet state, materials from archives of Ya.Sverdlov, F.Dzerzhinskiy, M.Frunze S.Kirov, N.Bukharin, A.Rykov, I.Stalin, G.Zinoviyev, L.Kamenev, M.Kalinin, A.Kollontay, E.Stasova, V.Kuybyshev, S.Ordzhonikidze, V.Molotov, A.Mikoyan, K.Voroshilov,, N.Khrushchev, L.Brezhnev and so on. News of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee will publish for the first time ever letters sent to the Central Committee by N. Krupskaya, A.Lunacharskiy, A.Gorkiy, M.Sholokhov, M.Bulgakov, I.Erenburg, D.Bednyy, N.Vavilov, E.Tarle, P.Kapitsa, R.Rolland, L.Feuchtwanger and other prominent personalities of Soviet and world culture. The journal will publish other documents found in the process of the study of the party's archives. The journal News of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee will be circulated on subscription and through retail trade network both in the USSR and abroad.

Armenians Said To Resume Strike in NKAO

AU1511120488 Paris AFP in English 1156 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow, Nov 15 (AFP)—Armenian inhabitants of the Azerbaijani region of Nagorno-Karabakh resumed their strike Monday to back demands for a lifting of the partial curfew in force since September 21, a member of the Karabakh Committee said Tuesday.

Ambartsum Galstyan told AFP that the new strike would last one week. He added however that the strike would be prolonged if the strikers' demands were not met.

The Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh, who make up some 75 per cent of the disputed enclave's population, ended a six-week strike in mid-October. The region has been repeatedly hit by strikes since last February.

Armenian leaders in Nagorno-Karabakh have been demanding that the region be administratively attached to Armenia.

On November 4, Armenian parliamentarians called for changes in constitutional amendments currently being discussed by the central government.

They are demanding increased powers for autonomous regions.

Azerbaijani CC Plenum Meets 13 Nov

LD1311161688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Today the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee Plenum discussed restructuring the republic's party organization based on the All-Union CPSU Conference directives. Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee commissions have been set up. A decision was adopted on reorganizing the apparatus of the Central Committee and the raykoms and gorkoms. The housing question was also discussed. This is the most acute problem in the republic. At the plenum measures were outlined to solve this problem. Thus, by the year 2000 it is proposed that housing will double the number of housing units created throughout the years of Soviet power. More than 650,000 apartments and houses, one-third of them in rural areas, will be built.

The plenum also discussed a report by the Central Committee Buro on the work done after the previous plenum which was held in August.

Session Issues Listed

LD1411115688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Excerpts] The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held on 13 November. The following issues were examined at the plenum:

1. Measures to speed up the solution of the republic's housing problem.

2. Reorganization of the republican party organization's party committees apparatus and creating Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Commissions.

3. The Central Committee counts on (?decisions) of the [word indistinct] Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum of 16 August.

4. Organizational issue. [passage omitted]

The plenum examined the organizational matter. The plenum relieved Comrade Vasiliy Konovalov of his duties as second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his retirement on pension and dismissed him from the Central Committee Buro composition.

By a secret ballot the plenum included in its Central Committee membership Comrade Victor Petrovich (Oleynitsa), who has previously worked as (?administrator) in the CPSU Central Committee, and elected him second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and Buro member.

The plenum relieved Comrade Svetlana Kasumova of her duty as secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and membership of the Central Committee Buro in connection with her election as secretary of Baku Gorkom. By a secret ballot the plenum included in the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee membership Comrade Ivan Gorelovskiy, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Committee for State Security and Vagif Guseynov, head of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department and elected them members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Buro. [passage omitted]

Personnel Changes at Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet

LD1211143288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Excerpts] On 10 November the 8th session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation was held. [passage omitted]

At the recommendation of Suleyman Tatliyev, chairman of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, Abdul- Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, was elected member of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. Deputy Kyamran Bagirov and Deputy Dzhangir Muslim-Zade were relieved of membership of the presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

The session relieved deputy Nazim Mamedov of his duties as chairman of the Credentials Commission of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet and elected Deputy Vagif Guseynov as chairman of the Credentials Commission.

Deputy (?Rasi) Zeynalov was elected chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Azerbijan SSR Supreme Soviet and deputy Ramiz Mekhtiyev was relieved of his duties as chairman of this commission. With this the 8th session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation concluded its work.

Azerbaijan Ministers Presidium Meets

NC0711090088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 4 Nov 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The newspapers report that those present at the regular meeting of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium discussed the deficiencies in the work carried out to organize passenger services on the Azerbaijan SSR railways network. Also discussed at the meeting was the work carried out by the Shamkhorsky Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies Ispolkom to restructure supervision, [words indistinct], and to deal with the demands of the citizens. The presidium also reviewed the measures taken by the ispolkom to eliminate vociferous protests in the rayon.

Relevant decisions were adopted on the matters discussed.

Baltic, Armenian October Revolution Festivities

PM1111104188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Reportage by IZVESTIYA correspondents S. Bablumyan, N. Baklanov, Ye. Vostrukhov, G. Dimov, A. Yezhelov, L. Kapelyushnyy, E. Kondratov, V. Kuleshov, L. Levitskiy, N. Matukovskiy, E. Matskevich, V. Surkov, R. Talyshinskiy, T. Chanturiya, and G. Shipitko: "Triumphant March of Revolution Continues"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

Vilnius

Today the Lithuanian capital was not in its traditionally magnificent festive decor. This time it got by without the huge panels glorifying our achievements, and the appearance of the columns converging on Lenin Square was more modest.

Vilnius enterprises, like the entire republic, incidentally, do have something to boast about. Industry is coping with its plans. Since the beginning of the year about 200,000 tonnes of fuel and energy resources, in standard units, have been saved. Cooperatives alone have produced R3.9 million of consumer goods made out of secondary raw materials. Lithuania's foreign economic ties with enterprises in socialist countries are expanding, and exports of industrial output increased by 9 percent this year.

The "Sigma," Vilnius fuel apparatus plant, "Neringa," and "Plasta" plant production associations and the "Audeyas" factory are named among the leaders in the city. Each of them has contributed to increasing the output of consumer goods.

The people of Vilnius celebrated the October anniversary in a new way—not only in form but in content. There was no government rostrum in the usual place. No one was required to show a pass at the distant approaches to the square.

On the day of the 71st October anniversary representatives of enterprises and institutions in Lithuania's capital went to the memorial to Vladimir Ilich for a festive meeting. They filled the enormous square decorated with flags. Soldiers from the Vilnius garrison stood in neat formation ready for the march-past.

Representatives of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, a delegation of the city's leadership, war and labor veterans, young people, and the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring took baskets of flowers to the memorial.

After the military parade and the meeting and when they had laid the flowers, the demonstrators, led by the republic's leadership, went out onto Lenin Prospekt—the rally participants and city residents began a procession to Gediminas Square, where there were outdoor festivities. [passage omitted]

Riga

Early in the morning long columns of demonstrators hurried from all parts of the Latvian capital toward the center—to the Komsomol Embankment. And each person who passed through Riga's ancient streets and squares at this time noted changes in the festive decor. The traditional "multistory" portraits had disappeared from buildings' facades, and everywhere there were fewer red calico banners bearing innumerable slogans. There were no intricate and expensive models, emblems, or material-intensive diagrams in the plant columns.

This year intensive factors of production development have noticeably increased in the republic. In the 1st 9 months national income increased 4.9 percent in comparison with the same period last year, and labor productivity in industry increased over 5 percent. All additional output was produced by reducing the number of workers.

The people of Riga demonstrated their unconditional support for the policy of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. Recently the constituent congress of the Latvian People's Front took place in the capital. On the whole it made constructive decisions. But highly extremist appeals were also heard there. The extremists were rebuffed by the working class and all forces which advocate restructuring not in words but in deeds.

Columns from the capital's "maritime" rayon—Oktyabrskiy—went past the rostrum. Workers from the Riga maritime trade port, the ship repair plant, and the steamship company collective were among the demonstrators. More than a hundred ships registered in Latvia—tankers and container carriers, refrigerator ships and gas carriers—transport freight to 54 countries throughout the world. Their crews successfully compete with leading world companies on the most important shipping lines. The warm-water ports of Riga and Ventspils handle millions of tonnes of freight annually. The importance of Latvian ports in the delivery of transcontinental freight on the new Europe-Japan and Europe-Asia routes is growing. The steamship company's annual profit is R340 million.

Latvia is connected by reliable transport highways with all the union republics. A great deal of very important freight essential for the harmonious development of all economic sectors in the Baltic republics travels along them. [passage omitted]

Yerevan

Armenia's capital met this October in complex circumstances, as can be judged from conversations with people and their attitude to what was happening.

A short excerpt from an interview on the way to Lenin Square.

"We have been coming here for many years pretending that we ardently support and approve the policy which, strictly speaking, led us to stagnation," construction worker R. Santrosyan said. "We carried placards past the platform without even wishing to read what was written on them. We were assigned the role of faceless masses who enthusiastically accepted any decree handed down 'from above.' So the difference between this demonstration and past ones is that each of us and all of us together are going to the square freed from the burden of the past. Restructuring gave us this opportunity. We proclaim a creative program and we shall certainly implement it. My conviction is rooted in faith in our people's lucid mind, skillful hands, and pure spirit."

Another interview taken on the square where the meeting took place.

R. Simonyan, teacher:

"Normal life, as we understand it today, is, thank goodness, not serene tranquillity. I am convinced that the norm is when people argue about something, disagree with something, and strive for something. It is not normal when all this is absent. Today, on our public holiday, I am here in Lenin Square, and tomorrow I shall take part in the meeting on Theater Square. I remain a Communist both there and here, and a staunch fighter for restructuring..." [passage omitted]

Tallinn

Vyydu Square—Victory Square—in Estonia's capital was full to bursting.

"We decided to combine the garrison units parade, the rally, and the demonstration into a single whole in order to let the people of Tallinn participate equally in the holiday and help them to feel a sense of unity," E. Sillari, first secretary of the Tallinn Gorkom, commented on the innovation. "Today the representatives of four city rayons formed a kind of square. Orchestras played. Songs were heard. I went up to one of the columns. I was attracted by the maritime symbolism. This was the 'Estrybprom' collective—the fish industry association. It is popular with the people of Tallinn today. Recently an unusual delicacy appeared in the stores—fried fish sticks in high-grade bright packaging. The enterprise, which was set up jointly with the famous Finnish firm 'Valio,' announced its arrival with this novelty."

Estonia is going through a difficult stage. It is trying to deal with economic, social, and national problems and to restore to democracy the genuine content of the concept. But its lessons have still not been done or learned. Democratization's norms are frequently interpreted in a very peculiar and one-sided way. The festive attire of a number of columns confirmed this. There were "ardent" appeals in both Estonian and Russian. Genuine democracy demands that a keen, businesslike, and responsible conversation by representatives of all social movements take place on all the most critical questions.

V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, who addressed the participants in the rally and the city garrison units' parade, also talked about this. If Estonians in their age-old land feel confidence in the future, so will all people of other nationalities who live in Estonia. But, the speaker stressed, the party will not permit one injustice to be replaced by another, or the problems of one group in the population to be resolved at the expense of another... It is unusual to hear such words on a festive day. But they are appropriate and timely. Suited to the time of the new political thinking and actions. Our social edifice still has to be substantially restructured. But the foundations for it exist. Restructuring relies on it, on October's bright ideals, and draws its strength from them. [passage omitted]

Sumgait Rioters Brought to Trial in Moscow

PM0911171688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 44, 30 Oct 88 p 14

[Andrey Pralnikov report: "The Sumgait Case: Facts And Pain"]

[Text] The Sumgait case is now being heard by the USSR Supreme Court in Moscow. This trial reveals the essence of the memorable events in February when ferocious criminals killed, raped, plundered, and set fire to houses.

Nearly 100 suspects were arrested. Now three of them, A. Akhmedov, I. Ismailov and Ya. Dzhafarov, are being tried on charges of organizing and participating in the mass disturbances, pogroms, arson and murders of seven people. I don't know whether anyone can understand all this. The court is trying to establish the truth and the facts by listening to and comparing the horrible details. The court cannot answer the question posed over and over again by the victims' relatives: How is it possible to watch quietly when a human is being burned or beaten to death with shovels?

"I did watch," answers defendant Dzhafarov, who wasn't even 18 in February.

"How could he? Let him tell us."

...They weren't brought here because they watched. Raymond Brize, trial chairman and member of the USSR Supreme Court, overrules the question: The court examines events and not emotions.

All three defendants renounce their former evidence which they claim was given under the influence of force and threats. They knew about the disturbances, saw groups of agitated people, heard appeals "to take revenge on the Armenians." Revenge for what? "Well, for Karabakh...." A map of the city neighbourhoods hangs in the hall. The defendants show where they were, in what direction they went, where they observed the flats being ransacked and the people being beaten. That's all. Each maintains his hands are clean: He watched, went home, ate supper, watched TV, then went to bed.

These young people seem at ease—even when their evidence doesn't coincide with that of witnesses. Dzhafarov impassively refuses to answer questions dealing with a letter he wrote to his relatives from his isolation cell, which was intercepted. The letter is read aloud: It is a request to persuade the witnesses to change their evidence in his favour.

During the Sumgait nightmare the militia and the municipal authorities didn't stop the thugs and murderers. The sense of impunity whipped up the crowd. I don't know whether this trial will examine the degree of responsibility of other persons, but it i certainly necessary to assess their action or inaction. Take these two episodes:

Chairman: "Witness, tell the court everything you know about this case."

Witness Ivan Malyy, mill operator at the pipe-rolling plant, resident of Sumgait: "Everything? We won't have enough time.... I saw a crowd from the window, saw a man being dragged. I had heard about pogroms, but didn't believe it. I didn't step in because by then nothing could be done. Did I fear for my life? Yes, I did. Because I was hiding an Armenian woman in my flat. No, Azerbaijanians, Russians and people of other nationalities were not threatened."

Most likely the crowd hunting for victims wasn't so blind. Sumgait made us admit the seriousness of the mistakes in the nationalities policy. And the consequences of the February outburst won't easily be forgotten: thousands of Armenian families left Azerbiajan, thousands of Azerbaijanian families left their homes in Armenia. For life to return to normal people must feel that the guarantee of justice are unshakable. Another episode from the courtroom. The mother of one of the defendants shouted:

"Did this boy sitting here organize all this?! Those who urged him on, those who allowed all this to happen, they should be in the dock!"

The victims applauded together with everyone else. Judge Raymond Brize said that he would order the courtroom cleared if this happened again. A court is not a theatre, but such a reaction implies a lot. It shows that even here, where grief seems to have divided people, the unite in striving to destroy the mainspring of evil.

It is up to the court to judge the crime. The fact that this particular case from the string of Sumgait crimes is being examined by the USSR Supreme Court is in part also a political judgement. It shows how serious the danger is. We will continue to cover this trial.

Speaking on Armenian TV before the trial began, Suren Arutyunan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, said: "People are worried about the fact that the trial is taking place in different cities and that Armenia is not receiving information about who is being sentenced or whether proper political conclusions are being drawn from these hideous crimes, so incredible in our society."

Even today there isn't enough information. The trial is open, but because of the limited seating access is restricted by a strict system of passes. The chairman refused requests to record the trial on video. Even TV filming was stopped the first day. The cameras could hinder the participants in the trial.

The court, however, could transfer the trial to other premises. Wouldn't this be appropriate, given that this trial is of huge interest to millions of people?

Report on Kazakh Communist Party 1 Nov Plenum

PM1411121588 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum" held 1 November 1988]

[Text] The 13th Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held 1 November. The agenda included the following questions:

1. Reorganization of the structure of the republic party organs' apparatus and the formation of Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee commissions.

2. Organizational questions.

3. The republic party organization's tasks regarding the further improvement of food supplies to the population in the light of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum decisions.

A report by the Central Committee Bureau was heard on the first question. Taking part in the discussion were I.B. Yedilbayev and A.A. Ustinov, members of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, and V.I. Yefimov, candidate member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

In conformity with the 19th All-Union Party Conference directives and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee July and September (1988) Plenums, a resolution was adopted on the reorganization of the structure of the republic party organs' apparatus and on the formation of Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee commissions.

The plenum examined organizational questions.

The plenum released S.K. Kubashev from his duties as second secretary and member of the Bureau of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum elected M.S. Mendybayev second secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum released Yu.A. Meshcheryakov and S.V. Urzhumov of their duties as secretaries and members of the Bureau of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee in connection with their transfer to other work.

The plenum elected V.G. Anufriyev secretary and member of the Bureau of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum appointed the following as chairmen of Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee commissions: M.S. Mendybayev to the Commission on Questions of Organizational-Party and Cadres Work; U.D. Dzhanibekov to the Ideological Commission; G.V. Kolbin to the Commission on Legal Questions; L.Ye. Davletov to the Commission on Questions of Socioeconomic Development; and V.G. Anufriyev to the Commission on Questions of Agrarian Policy.

The plenum appointed the following as chiefs of Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee departments: G.N. Korotenko to the Organizational-Party and Cadres Work Department; A.A. Ustinov to the Ideological Department; S.V. Urzhumov to the Socioeconomic Department; V.I. Yefimov to the State-Legal Department; G.Ye. Yesmukanov to the Agrarian Department; Kh.Sh. Takuov to the General Department; A.A. Mukhambetov as chairman of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Party Control Commission; and V.A. Brotta as Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee administrator of affairs.

The plenum removed M.I. Chormanov from candidate membership of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, delivered at the plenum the Central Committee Bureau's report "On the Republic Party Organization's Tasks Regarding the Further Improvement of Food Supplies to the Population in the Light of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum Decisions."

Taking part in the discussion of the report were: V.I. Lokotunin, first secretary of the Karaganda Kazakh Communist Party Obkom; U. Sarsenov, chairman of the Kazakh Potrebsoyuz Board; V.A. Teterin, first deputy general director of Kokchetav Oblast's "Borovoye" Agrocombine; L.Ye. Davletova, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; A.I. Shustik, first secretary of Semipalatinsk Oblast's Borodulikhinskiy party raykom; T.T. Omarova, tractor driver at Kustanay Oblast's "Veselopodolskiy" Sovkhoz; S.A. Medvedev, first secretary of the North Kazakhstan Kazakh Communist Party Obkom; A.A. Kulibayev, first secretary of the Guryev Kazakh Communist Party Obkom; V.A. Ovchinnikov, leader of a beet growing team at Alma-Ata Oblast's "Dzhanasharskoye" Teaching-Experimental Farm; M.K. Suleymenov, director of the A.I. Barayev All-Union Grain Growing Scientific Research Institute; V.B. Temirbayev, chairman of the East Kazakhstan Oblispolkom; and E.Kh. Gukasov, first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Kazakh SSR Gosagroprom.

G.V. Kolbin delivered a closing speech.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the question under discussion, which will be published in the press.

Taking part in the plenum's work was L.D. Zakharchenko, senior official from the CPSU Central Committee.

Ukraine's 1989 Plan, Budget Examined

AU2810113188 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 23 Oct 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Excerpts] At its session on 21 October the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers examined the draft 1989 state plan for the economic and social development of the Ukrainian SSR and the draft 1989 state budget of the Ukrainian SSR.

The session noted that the objective of the draft plan and budget was to implement in practice the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th all-union party conference, the July (1988) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, as well as of the 27th congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the October (1988) plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, to speed up the republic's socioeconomic development, and to deepen restructuring in all spheres of society.

The indexes targeted for national economic development in 1989 are based on the plans developed by the labor collectives of production associations, plants, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and projects in line with the laws on the state enterprise (association) and on cooperation in the USSR.

The draft plan and budget take account of the processes which have been taking place in the economy during 1986-88, the role of intensive factors, and provide for further progressive changes in the most important national economic sectors.

Account has been taken of the positive impact made by the radical reform in management on economic efficiency, an impact connected with the completion of transferring all production enterprises and associations over to economic accountability and self-financing, and with the sharply reduced share of the state order in the overall volume of production. [passage omitted]

The session of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers was attended by A.A. Titarenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and second secretary, and V.A. Sologub, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Trade Unions Council chairman.

The session was addressed by V.A. Masol, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Council of Ministers chairman.

Ukraine's Scientists Puzzled by Child Illness

AU0911133388 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 4 Nov 88 p 3

["Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health Announcement"—please see AFP report published in the 4 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, p 58]

[Text] Since last August in the city of Chernovtsy, 97 cases of disease accompanied by alopecia [loss of hair] have been registered among children under 14 years of age. All patients have been hospitalized in the clinics of Moscow and Kiev scientific research institutes and Chernovtsy Medical Institute. After a thorough examination, they have been given a symptomatic and general tonic treatment. The hospitalized children are feeling well. The general condition of the children who fell ill at the earlier stage is improving, and their hair has started to grow again.

Since the time the illness was detected, scientists and highly qualified specialists of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Ministries of Health have been working in Chernovtsy. They are carefully studying the possible causes of the disease. Modern instruments and equipment are being used to monitor sources of water, food, and environmental conditions but no substantial changes have been revealed.

The results of the measures taken will be published in the press.

[Signed] A.M. Serdyuk, Ukrainian SSR first deputy minister of health; V.P. Kukhar, vice president and member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; A.M. Kasyanenko, Ukrainian SSR deputy minister of health and chief medical officer; Doctor of Chemical Sciences V.V. Goncharuk, director of the Colloidal Chemistry and Hydrochemistry Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; Ye.M. Lukyanova, director of the Kiev Pediatrics, Obstetrics, and Gynecology Scientific Research Institute under the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health and member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; and Yu.I. Kundiyev, director of the Kiev Scientific Research Institute for Labor Hygiene and Vocational Diseases under the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Health.

Thallium Poisoning Suspected

PM1011131988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 4

[S. Blagodarov report: "Acid Rain? What Happened in Chernovtsy?—This Question Was Put at a Press Conference in the USSR Health Ministry"]

[Text] At the request of journalists a meeting was held at the USSR Health Ministry yesterday with Academician Ye. Chazov, USSR minister of health, the leaders of a number of the country's institutes, academicians, and professors. The extraordinary situation which has taken shape in the Ukrainian SSR's Chernovtsy Oblast was discussed at the meeting. At the end of August frightened parents began turning to the health care organs: Certain children in that region had suddenly lost all their hair.

The following pattern came to light: They were, as a rule, children of 2-4 years of age, when the organism has not yet grown strong and is not as resistant to various influences as in an adult. It was also noticed that it was mainly blond, blue-eyed children who were going bald. The hair fell out over 24-72 hours, following slight neuropsychic disturbances and hallucinations.

"So far 113 such children have come to light," Minister Ye. Chazov said. "Fifty-eight children are being investigated in Moscow, and the rest in Kiev."

What happened in Chernovtsy? At the end of August there were isolated cases of alopecia among children. The peak, the minister pointed out, came roughly in the middle of September, but loss of hair is continuing (in 16 children over the past 10-12 days).

This question was put: "Why is the USSR Health Ministry commission working on the spot only 2 months later, although this happened at the end of August?"

"It is not such a simple matter," Ye. Chazov replied. "Such mass alopecia among children has happened nowhere before. We requested data not only from the USSR but also from other countries. At first, when there were isolated cases, local physicians might not have paid proper attention to this, although we were informed of this as early as the beginning of September. We swung into action when the phenomenon became more widespread. More than 20 institutes—not just of the Health Ministry but also the Kurchatov and Vernadskiy Institutes and institutes of mineralogy and biochemistry—were involved in studying the new phenomenon."

At first it was assumed that it might be some new virus. But after a careful study of all the factors the possibility of a viral infection was rejected.

After painstaking, multifaceted research scientists reached a conclusion as to the most likely cause: acid rain and the effect of the chemical element thallium on the organism. Even an insignificant concentration of it is harmful to the organism. According to eyewitnesses, some strange rain fell in those places shortly before the children's alopecia.

It is interesting that no discharges containing thallium have been detected in Chernovtsy itself or the district, although an increased amount of it has shown up in the air there. These discharges (from chemical and other production facilities) have come from other places, perhaps from abroad (Chernovtsy is not far from the borders of several states). An excess of aluminum has also been detected in the atmosphere in the city. It affects the human organism, displacing zinc from it—which also causes hair to fall out. Plus there is an unfavorable geochemical background in Chernovtsy and a concentration of dust 4-5 times in excess of the norm. It was the combination of all these factors at once that led to this result.

So acid rain has begun to threaten not only forests abroad but also children in our country.

There was also a question as to whether the Chernobyl accident had been one of the causes of the Chernovtsy situation. Specialists replied that there are no cause-and-effect links between them. No adverse consequences are expected in the future, either, with regard to the health of the alopecic children, medics believe. Specialists assume that all the children's hair is bound to grow back.

Solovyev Addresses Local Komsomol 24 October

PM1111111188 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 88 p 1

[LENTASS report: "Meeting at Smolnyy"]

[Text] An important event in the life of Soviet young people is approaching—the Komsomol's 70th anniversary. The country is celebrating this portentous jubilee at a crucial juncture when the further deepening of the restructuring processes depends very directly on specific practical steps to realize the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum.

At an abrupt historical turning point the party treats the affairs and problems of the rising generation with special care and attention, seeking to create all the conditions to reveal its political and labor potential to the maximum.

Young people are a real social force capable of having a tremendous influence on the destiny of restructuring. This imposes a serious responsibility on the Komsomol and the entire Komsomol aktiv.

On the eve of the anniversary Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom, met with the Komsomol aktiv of Leningrad and the oblast at Smolnyy yesterday.

It was pointed out that public opinion, including the strengthening voice of young people, is playing an ever more appreciable role in decision-making by party and soviet organs on key aspects of the region's socioeconomic development. Deepening democratization is striking telling blows at such stagnation phenomena as red tape and conservatism, and it is raising glasnost and objective criticism to a new level.

The elections of leading cadres capable of perceiving and implementing the ideas of restructuring are taking place in an atmosphere of principledness and enhanced exactingness, with broad discussion of the candidates and the nomination of alternative candidacies.

This applies in full to the present report and election campaign in the CPSU, whose significance transcends party life. It is called upon to widely involve all party links and, primarily, primary party organizations in the process of the practical realization of the 19th all-union party conference decisions, and to promote the deepening of democratic principles in their activity and the elaboration of efficient forms of political leadership. It is an important fact that those who have already been entrusted with heading a number of party organizations and who are now on elected organs include many young Communists who have proved themselves to be active and enterprising champions of transformations.

At the same time this representation could have been broader. It was emphasized that the Komsomol must tackle more concretely and efficiently questions of shaping a lofty civic stance in young people, and give them practical assistance in ideological and political growth. Today it is also necessary to think about young people's broader representation on the soviets with regard to next year's elections of people's deputies.

The times require the Komsomol to act in practice as a vigorous political organization leading young people, wresting them from harmful influences, and preparing young men and women for a spiritually rich and interesting life.

The CPSU Obkom plenum in April 1988, which examined the Leningrad party organization's tasks of ideological support for the contemporary stage of restructuring, pointed out that Komsomol organizations have not yet succeeded in making a steep turn in the cause of education, or in becoming the vanguard for young people. Unworthy people sometimes end up among Komsomol leaders. They do not have organizational abilities and sometimes put personal ambitions above the interests of the cause. The Komsomol aktiv sometimes acts timidly and inertly.

People have still not learned to exercise efficiently the rights granted them, and to assume full responsibility for the state of affairs in production. This also applies to young people. At one Leningrad enterprise in every 10, there is not a single representative of young people or of a Komsomol organization on the labor collective council. At the same time practice shows that young men and women elected to a labor collective council have a poor idea of their function there, and fail to champion their coevals' interests on these self-management organs.

It was emphasized that it is the Komsomol's important task to show constant concern for enhancing the professional skill of young cadres and fostering in them responsibility for the entrusted task and initiative. These qualities are still plainly in short supply.

No appreciable results are visible from the involvement of Komsomol organizations in the vocational orientation of schoolchildren and the assignment of young people to the countryside. The turnover of young specialists and mass trade cadres is not falling.

Today 18 centers of young people's scientific and technical creativity are operating on an economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] basis. More efficient use must be made of their potential, for resolving the problems of the agro-industrial complex, developing the social sphere, and introducing computers, including those needed in the school reform.

The Komsomol has begun a great cause in the construction of youth housing complexes. Work is being done on dozens of sites, and the "MZhKstroy" trust has been set up. This is to quite a degree a new thing. Serious problems are arising with material resources, laggardness in drawing up planning estimates, and the slow pace in building up the trust's capacities.

Of course, there have been omissions here on the part of soviet and economic organs. But the Komsomol, too, must take a more constructive stand and strive in a persistent and businesslike way to surmount the difficulties.

There was a broad exchange of opinions on young people's problems, and answers were given to numerous questions from the assembled people.

To conclude the meeting Yu.F. Solovyev cordially congratulated those present on the approaching portentous event in the Lenin Komsomol's history and expressed the hope that the Komsomol aktiv will prove politically and morally equal to the successful resolution of the key tasks of restructuring.

Zaykov Attends Tupolev Anniversary Meeting

PM1411130188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Pride of Soviet Aviation"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting marking the centenary of the birth of Academician A.N. Tupolev was held in Moscow 9 November.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, designers, military commanders, and representatives of the public were in the presidium.

Falin Speaks on 'Necessary' Role of Religion

AU1411200588 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
14 Nov 88 p 12

["gur" report: "Religion Is Indispensable for Kremlin Leadership"]

[Text] Frankfurt—In the future, religion is to "occupy a fixed place" in the Soviet Union. This was stated by Valentin Falin, Gorbachev's chief foreign policy adviser and head of the International Relations Department of the CPSU Central Committee, on the third channel of the Hesse Television Network over the weekend [12-13 November]. According to Falin, 70 years after the October revolution in the USSR about 50 to 60 million people of the 262 million inhabitants of the communist country profess allegiance to a church. The right to practicing one's religion will now be guaranteed on a permanent basis.

Falin pointed out that today new churches are being opened and built, even in new residential areas, "where this was absolutely out of the question in the past."

Monasteries are being handed over to the church and even new monasteries are being founded. It is planned to "publish and distribute much more religious literature."

Religion—Falin said—does not belong to the past. The modern hectic lifestyle makes religion even necessary. He is "certain that many young people are looking for the path into the church, and this path will not be blocked to them." The church has "played a positive role" in mankind's history. This role "is not over as long as man's soul has a right to exist, even though it has never been seen."

Told that in the Soviet Union religion has long been considered "opium for the people," Falin said that it has been realized that religion is not a "substance" that can only bring damage to the Soviet system or to the people. Gorbachev's adviser added: "This belief is finished and I hope and proceed from the premise that it is finished forever." The believers do not work worse but "in many cases better than the atheists." He is convinced that in his country a "long-term coexistence" between state and church will come about, "which will make life better, more varied, and richer, in particular intellectually and spiritually," Falin said.

Missile Transporter Conversion Faces Problems
PM1011160988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Nov 88 p 2

[VECHERNYAYA ODESSA correspondent N. Benda report: "It May Turn Out To Be Just for Show"—caption to accompanying photograph shows "the first crane...made from a former missile transporter."]

[Text] Until quite recently this piece of equipment was the personification of military might. But its lethal tooth—an SS-20 missile—has been torn out and destroyed and the machine is now being used for one of the most peaceful professions. This 80-tonne construction crane, which is at present the only one of its kind in the country, was born in the workshops of the January Uprising Heavy Crane-Building Production Association (or the "Yanvarka," as it is fondly known by the people of Odessa). It is essentially the first experiment to realize mankind's age-old dream to beat its swords into plowshares.

I was able to see how it is done. The machine was literally swarming with people. What is more, there were just as many designers and technologists on the site as there were workers. And it was not surprising: The new product of the "Yanvarka" was born from the wheels up, so to speak. The technical documentation and working project were drawn up in less than 2 months (it normally takes about 2 years).

The idea of creating a new crane on the basis of this chassis arose in the association even before the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles had been ratified. The enterprise took the financial risk. If the missiles had not been destroyed after all, the KA-80 crane would have been the first and the last. And the sale of the experimental prototype would not, of course, have paid for the labor of the hundreds of people who created the new machine. But the sober approach won the day in the political arena. And the "Yanvarka" has profited economically. This fundamentally new product has taken off.

"We are planning to create a whole range of cranes in the future on the basis of these missile transporters," N. Andriyenko, chief of the Main Special Technological Design Office, said. "They will have a lifting capacity of between 40 and 140 tonnes, with different arms (telescopic and latticed). It is very important to ensure that the new product has a firm financial base: A contract has been concluded with the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building. But there are fears that we could stop at the experimental prototypes. I will explain: The new model has an telescopic arm. It is impossible to make these arms without special lathe-center equipment and jig borers of the RT type. But the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry has said it cannot possibly allocate us this kind of equipment earlier than 1992...."

Yes, there is reason for concern. After all, if the arm for the first crane was made by Polish colleagues under a cooperative agreement, their help alone will hardly be sufficient for the Odessa workers if the crane goes into mass production. This means there is a real threat of this very important national economic and social order being wrecked.

'Chekists' Commemorate War Exploits in Kiev
AU0211134288 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 29 Oct 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "The Chekists Marched to the Battle"]

[Excerpts] Kiev, 28 October—In August 1941 a special Hitlerite train with ammunition and weapons was blown up at the Gorodishche-Smela railroad section. Thus the demolition squad under A.S. Zubov, commander of a section of Kiev partisan regiment of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, opened the account, first in the history of the Great Patriotic War, of the destruction of the enemy's special trains.

By a directive of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine, two such regiments and a battalion for special missions were formed in the Ukraine's capital city at the outset of the war. Their main nucleus was the operatives of state security and internal affairs organs, party and Komsomol aktivists, frontier guards, and athletes. [passage omitted]

A memorial plaque was unveiled today at the central gate of the "Dynamo" stadium in Kiev to commemorate the Chekists. This was the site on which the subunits of partisan regiments No 1 and 2 and of special battalion No 4 of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs were formed and from which they marched to the battle. The lines cast in bronze will now remind the inhabitants of and guests to the ancient city of this.

A meeting was held at the memorial plaque. It was attended by veterans of the Great Patriotic War, of the Ukrainian SSR KGB and MVD, public representatives, Komsomols, young people, and "Dynamo" athletes.

The meeting was opened by Leonid Samokhvalov, first secretary of Pecherskiy Rayon Komsomol committee. Speeches dedicated to the exploits of the Chekist soldiers were delivered by participants in the battles against the German fascist occupiers: V.P. Dobrychev, son of P.A. Dobrychev who died heroically as the commander of battalion for special missions No 4; Candidate of Juridical Sciences A.V. Ivankov; and honorary Chekist A.P. Svyatogorov.

Ministry Condemns Substandard Water Supply

LD3110140788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 31 Oct 88

[Text] The collegium of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources discussed a vitally important issue today regarding measures aimed at radically improving work to desalinate drinking water. According to information from the Health Ministry, half of the country's population is using water which does not correspond to the requirements of the standard set by the state. This problem has become particularly acute in Karakalpakia and the Kyzyl-Orda Oblast of Kazakhstan. Because of the inexpert application of mineral fertilizers and pesticides the water is becoming harmful to man and animals. Much of the water becomes saline after being used for irrigation.

A mass effort has been launched in the country to desalinate drinking water. The USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources has been charged with managing the work. Desalination stations are being set up in rural localities. The tasks set by the government regarding their construction are not, however, being fulfilled. The Ministry of the Chemical Industry and Chemical Machine-Building [as heard] is letting them down; it should be supplying desalination installations. (Viktor Nikolayevich Oleynic), head of the Soyuzglavselkhozvodosnabzheniye [Union of Central Rural Water Supplies] association, who should coordinate more efficiently the work of all the organizations involved in the construction of desalination installations, was criticized. The collegium demanded that questions connected with this extremely important national economic task should urgently be solved. It is necessary to display initiative, enterprise, to seek new ways of organizing the matter, and to set up cooperatives, associations within the country, as well as with outlets to the international market.

Grenade Planted at Station Successfully Defused

PM1011131188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 10 Nov 88 p 4

[V. Konoplitskiy report: "Grenade in Briefcase"]

[Text] Vladivostok—Passengers were bewildered to hear an announcement that departure of the "Okean" Vladivostok to Khabarovsk express train had been delayed....

The Vladivostok Internal Affairs Administration had received a phone call. A man's voice said:

"This is to warn you that there's a bomb in storage locker 37 at the railroad station. The bomb's in a briefcase. Be careful—opening the locker will set it off...."

Within minutes the station was cordoned off, with fire and ambulance services converging on it.... Bomb disposal experts arrived.

The person who planted the bomb had indeed laid a cunning trap. Bomb disposal experts Senior Lieutenant G. Kurlovich and Senior Warrant Officer V. Sncheglov worked on the dangerous object for an hour. Displaying superb skill and sangfroid, they managed to disarm the grenade.

The criminal was clearly so sure that there would inevitably be an explosion that he "forgot" some of his things in the locker. He was identified within a few days. This vile act is now the subject of criminal proceedings.

Economic

Regional Economic Autonomy Described

PM1411163588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 10 Nov 88 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with M.Sh. Shaymiyev, chairman of the Tatar ASSR Council of Ministers, by special correspondents M. Zaripov and Ye. Khokhlov: "Economic Autonomy. M.Sh. Shaymiyev, Chairman of the Tatar ASSR Council of Ministers, Describes a New Economic Experiment"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Correspondents] The idea of switching entire republics and oblasts to economic accountability [khozraschet], which was advanced and supported at the 19th all-union party conference, will soon be verified in practice. Next year the principles of self-financing and independent management will start to be assimilated by the Baltic republics, Belorussia, and—in the RSFSR—by the Tatar ASSR and Sverdlovsk Oblast. How are the preparations for economic independence proceeding?

[Shaymiyev] We recently entrusted a group of specialists with analyzing what reserves the Tatar economy might count on in the very near future. The experts have presented their proposals, which look rather like a list of losses, distortions, and disparities. For example, the motor-building association has unique milling machines, which many enterprises have a dire need of. This includes the "Tasma" Association for the manufacture of equipment which would make it possible to increase production of tape recorder compact cassettes by an extra R28 million a year. Although these machine tools stand idle most of the time, they cannot be used to perform "outside" work: Departmentalism does not permit it. The same can be said for the use of computer equipment, transport, warehouses, and even production waste—we lose a very great deal at the interface between sectors.

Still more social problems have accumulated. In planning the expansion and construction of their enterprises, ministries and departments show very little concern for how their workers will live, how to feed them, and what they will buy in the stores. With the rapid development of young cities—Naberezhnyye Chelny and Nizhnekamsk—and industrial oil-extraction centers the urban population in this region has increased by almost 1 million people. But it has not been possible to increase food production on the same scale and create a life-support infrastructure. The Kama Truck Plant collective recently produced its millionth truck. At the same time there is an acute shortage of vehicles in the suburban agricultural zone serving Naberezhnyye Chelny. More than 2 billion tonnes of oil have been extracted in Tataria, in which connection countless numbers of supply lines have been constructed. The land has been dug up and covered with scars. And yet the republic has had no direct benefits from this oil and has had no right to dispose of even a single above-plan tonne in the interests of the local population.

Oilmen, power workers, petrochemical workers, motor vehicle builders—all assume responsibility primarily for industrial development, leaving the local party and soviet organs to bother about food supplies and the comprehensive implementation of social programs. But no one knows what funds are to be used.

As we see, economic accountability divided up among sectors and departments does not resolve in full the economic and social tasks entrusted to it. It will really start working when the rayon, the city, and the republic also go over to the principles of self-management and self-financing.

[Correspondents] This transition is hardly possible without restructuring planning, economic management, and the financial mechanism. Until now local soviets have only tackled the economy under their own jurisdiction, which makes up an insignificant proportion of the republic's overall potential: Local enterprises provide 2 percent of the total production volume. But now they are to direct the work of enterprises on a union and a Russian scale. What changes are expected in the managerial system?

[Shaymiyev] A readjustment of organs of state and economic management is now taking place in Tataria, as throughout the country. We are releasing more than 6,000 working people and have to some extent rid ourselves of the multi-tier setup, duplication, and parallelism. However, we are in no way managing to break down departmental barriers and overcome lack of coordination. In order to resolutely advance this cause, the autonomous republic, kray or oblast must be granted the right itself to determine the organization, structure, and activity of the management organs on its territory.

Take construction. There are more than 500 contract organizations operating in Tataria, commanded by 34 departments. The majority are small, feeble contractors. A mere 30 percent of these organizations perform work worth more than R3 million a year. We suffer great losses because of fragmentation: Poor use is made of construction equipment and combines' capacities, and many crosshauls of construction materials take place. The party obkom and the republic Council of Ministers have long proposed the phased unification of all contract organizations into a single complex and its deliverance from needless departmental tutelage. This question must be resolved without fail when Tataria goes over to economic accountability. We also propose to unite light and textile industry enterprises and remove them from direct subordination to ministries. They have similar tasks, and some of them are even linked with each other by technology but are not joined organizationally.

[Correspondents] But the ministry has the funds. At difficult times the collective can always turn to the sector headquarters for support. But now the enterprise will be forced to seek local resources, about which people only speak—they do not know where to get them. Who guarantees normal supplies for enterprises under the new conditions?

[Shaymiyev] Since we have raised the question of transferring a whole number of enterprises from the jurisdiction of ministries to that of local organs of power, the need arises simultaneously to change the status of material and technical supply subdivisions. Territorial organs of the USSR Gossnab are now becoming independent and economically accountable. Approximately 800 kinds of previously funded output have already been switched to free sale to consumers this year. All enterprises and organizations are to be switched to wholesale supplies over the next 5 years.

[Correspondents] But what is to be done in 2 months' time? Is there not a contradiction in the fact that the experiment with regional economic accountability is being conducted in Tataria, while the practice of organizing wholesale trade is being developed in Tyumen Oblast?

[Shaymiyev] The decisions relating to these experiments were adopted at different times. But I believe that one is inconceivable without the other: Where regional self-management is being introduced, wholesale trade must also be introduced. Local supply organs must be concerned, above all, with meeting the needs of their own self-managing region. We think that in this case we will be able to introduce more flexible regulation of the production and supply spheres.

The chief condition that must be followed when introducing territorial economic accountability is that the local power itself must decide what the structure and staffs of management organs should be, within, of course, the limits of the wages fund to be formed on economically accountable principles. In general, I am a committed supporter of having all organs of economic management function on an economically accountable basis.

[Correspondents] In everyday life anyone intending independently to run his own business first calculates how much money he earns and how much he spends on food, purchases, and so forth. Is it possible to say with confidence that on switching to economic accountability Tataria will be able to support itself and not run up debts?

[Shaymiyev] We have done our sums. And they show that in terms of its potential, the correlation of earned funds, and the total of all expenditure Tataria is capable of going over to self-financing.

Last year a total income of more than R8 billion was secured. That included enterprises' profits, depreciation deductions, turnover tax, and long-term credits. Expenditure was as follows: R2.5 billion on capital investments (counting both local construction projects and projects funded from centralized sources); R1 billion on the payment of pensions; approximately R1 billion on agricultural subsidies; R500 million was expenditure connected with the social sphere (health care, education, culture); enterprises spent an equal amount on these purposes; and deductions into development funds and collectives' economic incentive funds totaled approximately R1.5 billion. The total expenditure amounts to R7 billion. Thus income exceeds expenditure by R1 billion. At the same time Tataria supplies itself with the basic foodstuffs, as well as delivering them to the union republic fund. So it can feed itself.

[Correspondents] Almost 70 percent of the republic's expenditure is now met from statewide financial resources. With cost-covering and self-financing where will the republic get the funds for current expenditure on production and social needs? For there are also compulsory deductions for statewide purposes.

[Shaymiyev] Let us elaborate at once: This proportion certainly does not mean that we have not earned the money that the republic gets. Tatar enterprises pay most of their profits into the union and Russian budgets, and then some of the funds are returned, but as depersonalized, anonymous funds.

We are not talking of replenishing our monetary resources from the all-union budget. There is expenditure on defense and on fulfilling statewide programs, and all the enterprises' obligations to the union budget must be fulfilled. Territorial economic accountability must in no way lower the responsibility of each individual oblast and the republic as a whole to the country. We are only saying that that part—the earned part!—of the funds which is returned to us all the same should remain in the local soviets' hands right from the start.

In our opinion, under regional economic accountability the republic's budget must be formed in a new way. Payments such as that for natural and labor resources must undoubtedly be at the disposal of local soviets. According to the laws of economics and common sense, depreciation deductions must stay where the equipment operates. We must also secure a sharp increase in deductions from enterprise profits into the local budget on the basis of well-founded normatives. The Kama Truck Plant, for example, now deducts 4 percent, "Nizhnekamskshina" 3 percent, and "Nizhnekamskneftekhim" just 1 percent. This is more of a symbolic gesture which essentially changes nothing. As for profits made above the plan, let them remain entirely in the territory where people have distinguished themselves with vigorous, organized work. Initiative must always be encouraged everywhere, in all cases without exception. Local soviets, having the means for and the direct economic interest in the end result of the work of enterprises and organizations, will manage the economy and the social development of their region far more efficiently.

[Correspondents] If the local budget is replenished out of enterprises' profits, there is no denying that this is an alluring prospect. But territorial self-financing presupposes mutual responsibility. Until now the soviets have had virtually no income from the efficient working of industry. But neither have they known any cares over loss-making production. That was the ministries' headache. But who will settle the accounts now? Last year 50 enterprises made losses of R40 million. To these must be added kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which also will not survive without financial assistance.

[Shaymiyev] Of course, the existence of loss-making enterprises and farms complicates our switch to self-financing—there is no argument over this. And yet we take an optimistic view of the prospect. Consistent, full-value economic accountability in itself does amazing things. Take the agro-industrial complex, a major, very complex sphere. It has been transferred to self-financing. In the past 2 years there has been a serious drought in Tataria. But, despite "unfavorable weather conditions," the farms' profitability is growing! It is another matter that huge debts relating to long-term and short-term credits now hang over kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Territorial cost-covering really is impossible with such a burden. The problem concerns not only Tataria. The solution must be sought at a statewide level.

[Correspondents] Are the debts to be written off again, for the umpteenth time? That is not the best prologue to self-financing from an educational viewpoint... But let us assume the decision has been made, and the debt tails have been cut off. What next? Who will repay the new debts and pay for the newly produced loss-making output, and who will compensate for the huge difference between retail and purchase prices? Will territorial economic accountability not lead to higher prices, including for foodstuffs?

[Shaymiyev] Of course, that cannot be permitted. We speak today of people's well-being as the first and last goal of regional economic accountability. The restructuring of the budget, the changing of managerial structures, the republic's self-financing—all these are just the means enabling us to attain a better quality of life through better management.

Let us do specific sums. The cost of producing 1 kg of beef, whose retail price is R1.90, stands at an average of R4.76 here. Tatar farms receive additional subsidies of R500 million for meat and milk. The following version is proposed on the transfer to self-financing. As previously, the state compensates for all the loss-making agricultural produce which we supply to the all-union fund. We undertake to pay out of our own budget for that part which has been produced in excess of state purchases and left on the region's territory. I will remind you that we have already taken this item of expenditure into account in the preliminary estimates. There is one way on from here: to reduce the prime cost of meat and milk while increasing their production. We have seen for ourselves that the lease contract produces impressive results. The use of the lease and other progressive methods of running the economy can abruptly change the situation in agricultural economics. Production becomes more efficient—and output becomes cheaper. This can be seen from the prices in cooperative stores. The price of 1 kg of beef has come down from R4.50 to R3.50 over the past 3 months here, and that of pork from R3.50 to R2.50.

Likewise, it is also possible to resolve questions of payment for municipal and domestic services and travel on city transport. Every soviet must have the right to manage things on its own territory, taking into account both the potential of the budget and the needs of the population. We consider it necessary to set the condition that the social sections of enterprises' plans—production of consumer goods and rendering of paid services to the population, as well as the construction of housing, trade, health care, cultural projects, and schools—should be approved finally by the local soviets. They will be enabled to suppress enterprises' attempts to improve their financial situation by means of unsubstantiated prices for output, and counteract the erosion of goods that are cheap but needed by the population. What will make the soviets be uncompromising? Direct, strict responsibility to the voters, which is something those ministries do not have. Thus, control over the enterprises' activity will be exercised by the population itself through its representatives on organs of territorial management. Regional economic accountability is essentially more democratic than the sectoral kind.

[Correspondents] Democracy, however, can also serve as a reliable cover for group, parochial egotism. For example, a wave of "ecological" rallies and demonstrations against the construction of new enterprises has now risen up, and the slogan is: Anywhere you like, only not here. If we consistently fulfill demands of this kind, will we not arrive at territorial isolation and a complete halt to economic progress?

[Shaymiyev] As regards Tataria, it will not retire into its shell. Although our region, where the production volume is approaching R20 billion a year, has more industry than many others, the development of enterprises is continuing. An AES, a GES, a mineral fertilizer plant, and a large complex for the production of small cars at Yelabuga are now under construction. But, indeed, under the impact of public opinion we have had to refuse the siting on the republic's territory of projects which would do irreparable harm to nature and people. And this is a correct, legitimate decision. For example, it had been proposed to site within the city limits and in a vacation zone new capacities of the "Orgsintez" Association, a synthetic rubber production facility, and a biochemical plant.

But let us take a broader view of the problem. How, in fact, are the very different interests of departments and the territory to be reconciled? Of course, we will have to show far greater concern than at present for the ecological elaboration of projects. At the same time ministries and, through them, the state can make the construction of those same chemical projects more attractive to the population of the given territory. In what way? In the most reliable, economic way: by sharply increasing deductions from their profits put into the local budget for the region's sociocultural development and the same nature conservation measures. The prospect of having at one's disposal an additional source of funds for raising living standards will more quickly awaken interest in new construction.

Regional economic accountability is by no means a mechanical transfer of the principles of sectoral economic accountability to the economy of an oblast or republic. It is a qualitatively different management method, a flexible mechanism making it possible to combine most harmoniously both territorial and state interests and the needs of collectives and of each individual.

Economist Remarks on Pitfalls of Foreign Credit

PM1411144188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Bochkov: "Transactions Won't Spoil A Friendship. A Specialist's Polemical Remarks on Attitudes to Foreign Credit"]

[Text] The recent USSR Supreme Soviet session discussed with complete candor and concern the difficult economic situation, which is a consequence of the period of stagnation. Among the measures for overcoming the difficulties currently being experienced, great importance is being attached to the use of foreign economic activity. In what way? There are many arguments about this problem. Certain economists propose rectifying the situation by using credits from the Western foreign-currency markets. Figures for loans of more than $10 billion have been bandied about. This money would be used to equip machine-building sectors with advanced technology and to organize a modern level of exports of goods. Other economists reject out of hand the very idea of using Western credit on the grounds that the debts have to be repaid—mainly in raw materials—and we have had regrettable experience in the "indiscriminate acquisition of piles of equipment" that lay in warehouses for years. Finally, they scare people by saying: "Why try a new form of colonialism on for size?"

I think it is useful to discuss extreme viewpoints if only because this theoretical argument should give rise to the optimum economic practice. Thus, in my view the idea of enlisting several tens of billions of dollars over the course of several years is economically unwise. Here is why. Our national economic complex is capable of producing everything needed for the country's development, although a number of sectors lag behind world standards in technical and quality terms.

But from the mid-seventies onward, maximizing foreign-exchange revenues through the sale of fuel resources, our country started flooding industry with imported equipment thanks to the favorable situation for us on the foreign market. Unfortunately, this did not place industry on a new technical footing; it led rather to the quality of many Soviet machines and pieces of equipment being frozen. Experience shows that imports on a huge scale did not always lead to the desired results, since in this case, too, industry was working for industry—but merely using foreign sources.

Let us look at the experience of other socialist countries. The example of Poland, where an attempt was made in the seventies to retool industry by using large Western credits, is highly instructive. Many new machine-building plants were built with the intention of selling output to the Western market. But economic conditions changed sharply and the battle in the sales market got tougher. It turned out that plants had been built but their output was not competitive. Moreover, production was often dependent on purchases of raw materials and various additives from the West. But the debts, which have now reached $36 billion, have to be repaid. Polish specialists note that Poland does not have enough funds even to fully pay the interest on its foreign debt.

At the same time, there is the more pragmatic experience of the PRC. In the late seventies and early eighties the new Chinese leadership under Deng Xiaoping decided to modernize production on the basis of advanced technology by using credits. In the space of 2-3 years the Chinese received a portfolio of proposals from the West amounting to $35-40 billion. However, weighing up their repayment ability, they downgraded their program for using Western capital to $6-7 billion a year. This, they calculated, was enough to develop the main priority avenues in their national economy—which they have managed to do with some success.

Party and state resolutions have advanced as a priority the task of bringing about the accelerated and fundamental retooling of the light and food industries. To this end, additional Western capital could be used within reasonable limits in the shape of medium- and long-term credit.

In the last 2 years equipment for the light and food industries worth more than R5 billion has been bought from the socialist countries and the West. But the sectors have been so neglected, and the need to accelerate their work is so great, that the measures being taken are clearly inadequate. Here too, it seems to me, we should deliberately take more resolute steps to retool these sectors on the most modern technological basis.

I think it would be expedient to redistribute imports bought with freely convertible currency, switching the emphasis from means of production (Group "A") to consumer goods (Group "B"). Moreover, wider use should be made of the most currently effective way of using foreign capital in the shape of setting up joint ventures in order to develop these sectors. And it is important to involve in the joint construction of enterprises those firms which express a readiness to sell on the foreign market some of what they produce here. This will make it possible to solve the problem of transferring currency abroad to pay for the capital used.

It is important that the scale of loans should not go beyond the limits of our repayment abilities. But there is no need to be scared of debt, since there is quite a lot of room for maneuver in our import-export potential: In 1987 foreign trade turnover amounted to R128.9 billion. Only we should use these resources with greater consideration for the people's urgent needs. For instance, Soviet imports in 1987 amounted to R60.7 billion, of which R25.2 billion were purchases of machines, equipment, and means of transport. Only R2.4 billion were spent on purchases of equipment for the light and food industries. As we can see, there is very considerable scope for increasing the proportion of imports of equipment for Group "B" sectors. With such foreign-currency resources it would also be desirable not to cut funds for the purchase of medicines, footwear, coffee, and certain other goods, whose reduction in our domestic market would exacerbate shortages and create a negative social environment.

Credit from the Western foreign exchanges is already being used in the radical modernization of the light and food industries, and for other purposes. Thus, according to foreign and Soviet press figures, agreements have been concluded in 1988 for the loan of credits totaling around $7 billion, including $1.7 billion from the FRG, $2.6 billion from Britain, $2.0 billion from France, and $0.3 billion from Italy.

Although we obtain credit to solve problems that are very necessary for the people, we must not forget about the scale of the credit, since debts must be repaid and, consequently, the limits of our borrowings must be very strict—within our ability to repay.

The repayment [obratimost] of our debts to other countries and their debts to us could be a source of additional foreign-exchange revenue. Honest transactions won't spoil a friendship, as the saying goes. Clearly, we must be franker in discussing the socialist countries' debt obligations to each other. As is well known, the Soviet Union does not have any major debts to the CEMA countries. It is other countries' main creditor. The European CEMA countries basically pay off their debts in good time, and there is no problem in that area. As for the debts of developing socialist countries—Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia—their economic ability to pay off credit is currently very limited. Probably only Cuba has accumulated small payment funds on the basis of last year's results. But these sums, of course, are not enough to seriously reckon on its repaying the credits it has received from the Soviet Union.

Proposals to make the Soviet ruble freely convertible into foreign currency are heard increasingly often. Then, it is claimed, we would find it easier to overcome difficulties in attracting foreign-currency funds from the West. Why do economists and various sections of society have the idea that if our government made the Soviet ruble convertible into foreign currency—above all, Western currency—matters in our economy would right themselves in short order? What is the source of this simplistic approach—that one need only make our ruble convertible into U.S. dollars, deutschmarks, sterling, and so forth, and then into other currencies; that import restrictions would thereby be removed, and the country would be flooded with foreign goods? This concept of the problem can be explained by the same old faith in the omnipotence of administrative methods. And it is forgotten that in order for holders of Soviet rubles in other countries to be able to use them as free currency, we would have to have goods and services equal to world standards, as well as sufficient foreign-exchange reserves to support a stable exchange rate for the ruble.

The idea of moving toward a situation in which our participation in world economic relations would be more wide-ranging and our currency could promote this process more effectively is in itself very topical. But we should probably proceed on the basis of the real situation in which we find ourselves. And the reality is that both industry and other sectors of the national economy, despite large above-normative stocks, still experience shortages of goods in their work. Most of the output we produce is not competitive on the world market, and the level of both labor and, in particular, material expenditure on its production exceeds world levels. Things are even worse with the production of consumer goods and foodstuffs, and with the scale and quality of the provision of paid services to the population. As a result—and this was stated with concern at the recent USSR Supreme Soviet session—there is an increasing lack of balance in the population's income.

Clearly, we must think above all about making the Soviet ruble convertible into quality goods and services on the domestic market, and increasing its purchasing power. Talking about making the ruble even partially convertible into other currencies in the immediate future strikes me as unfeasible. It would be expedient to bring about Soviet ruble convertibility in stages.

Several economists—particularly Prof N. Shmelev—link the improvement of our economy with the possibility of cooperation with the IMF. This idea has been put forward before, in the late seventies. There was even a report recently that the Soviet Union was one of the IMF's founders and that, therefore, there is no need for us to join it all over again. In actual fact things are somewhat different: The Soviet Union participated in the drawing up of an agreement and charter in the initial stages. And that was where it ended. The Soviet side did not sign any constituent documents. Now it is being proposed in practice that we join the IMF. What should we do? We should weigh everything very carefully.

Under IMF regulations a country such as ours would have to commit to the fund a considerable sum in convertible currency—up to $2 billion in some experts' opinion—by way of membership dues. Moreover, our country—by dint of its position as a great power—would have to be a donor toward a number of funds, and also make contributions to other financial institutions operating under IMF auspices.

There is thus no prospect of any particular economic advantages for our country from IMF membership. At the same time, even without joining the IMF, the opportunities for obtaining foreign-currency funds on the Western foreign exchanges and on acceptable terms are currently quite favorable.

I would like to state my ideas on another issue too. In order to boost imports of consumer goods Prof N. Shmelev suggests increasing gold sales for a number of years. I think that an open appeal in the press for the USSR to sell gold in the foreign currency markets will lead to nothing except a fall in the gold price. It would probably be better to recall Lenin's advice about the need to set up gold reserves and use them skillfully, to save gold, to sell it at a profit, and to use it to buy goods at advantageous rates. We are a gold producer and our foreign economic departments are called upon to closely monitor the gold market and strive to find the most favorable opportunities for gold sales.

Thus, when it is a question of the use of foreign economic factors in improving our economy, we clearly need to be extremely circumspect, and should not go to extremes. Of course, it would be desirable to bring into play more swiftly all the possibilities inherent in our foreign economic potential under the conditions of restructuring.

Creation of Free Economic Zones Urged

PM1411113188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 3 Nov 88 p 2

[Interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof Ruslan Khasbulatov, chief of the Foreign Countries' Economies Department at the Moscow G.V. Plekhanov National Economy Institute, by V. Prokhvatilov: "Keys to the World Market?"—date, place of interview not specified; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Recently many economists have been putting forward the idea of creating free economic zones on our country's territory. What are they? What are their prospects? Would not the creation of such zones result in the loss of socialist values? This is the topic discussed by our correspondent and Doctor of Economic Sciences Prof Ruslan Khasbulatov, chief of the Foreign Countries' Economies Department at the Moscow G.V. Plekhanov National Economy Institute.

[Prokhvatilov] Ruslan Imranovich, as is well known, we, too, used to have free zones. In the 19th century there were the "free ports" of Odessa, Vladivostok, and Batumi. Batumi also had this status for a number of years after the revolution. There was a discussion in 1922 of the question of creating free ports in Petrograd and Novorossiysk. V.I. Lenin was against it at the time. This stance seems contradictory. A resolute advocate of organizing strong ties with the West—yet he adopts that stance.

[Khasbulatov] It only appears that way. Lenin was arguing in the light of specific conditions. In a letter to the Central Committee he wrote: "The opening up of the Petrograd port will increase flax smuggling on the Finnish border to a horrifying degree.... We will be faced with combating the entire peasantry of the flax-growing region.... The opening up of the Novorossiysk port will rapidly drain grain surpluses." Lenin explained to his opponents (Bukharin, Stalin, Molotov, and others) that, given the weak economy and underdeveloped industry, the total abolition of the foreign trade monopoly would turn the country into the West's raw material appendage. State control of foreign links had to be maintained in order to restore the national economy. It has to be said that Lenin's concept of a "monopoly," even in those conditions, by no means signified total state or departmental diktat.

When Lenin was alive and for some time after his death the state monopoly did not prevent cooperative members, joint-stock companies, and even individuals from carrying out foreign trade transactions. But at the end of the twenties it was decided to make a complete break with the world economy and opt for economic isolation. All this contributed, of course, to the country's falling behind the developed Western countries in terms of technology and scientific developments.

[Prokhvatilov] Now a course of expanding enterprises' independence and their participation in direct international links has been adopted. So, clearly, the attitude toward free economic zones should change as well. Let us examine what they can do for our economy.

[Khasbulatov] A lot, I believe. Through them the economy can emerge into the world market on a wide scale. PRC experience has demonstrated how effective the creation of free economic zones can be in a socialist country. Two-thirds of China's trade turnover now goes through the zones. The PRC leadership is proposing to expand the zones' sphere of activity to the maximum. It has been decided to give that status to the territory of the eastern seaboard, with its population of over 200 million.

[Prokhvatilov] China's successes in modernizing its economy are common knowledge. But we are confining ourselves at the moment to setting up joint ventures with foreign partners....

[Khasbulatov] Our problem is that we sometimes get carried away with one particular form of business cooperation. And we obsessively impose it on partners without really considering their interests. This narrow-minded economic approach is unpromising. Remember the barter deals of the seventies. The hopes we had for them. There was an international conference of business circles in Moscow in summer 1973. Virtually the entire cream of the Western business world came to Moscow. Big firms opened offices here nearly every year. But their expectations were not borne out. Even during the conference people were in a state of bewilderment: "Why are you stuck on barter deals? After all, they are only one form of cooperation and by no means the most promising."

[Prokhvatilov] Western businessmen are obviously also wary because they have to operate in a strange and, to be frank, highly unfavorable economic environment.

[Khasbulatov] Absolutely. It is time to realize that in order to attract foreign partners it is necessary to provide them with guaranteed profits. We have to abandon false notions that it is one big crisis in the West, with a bankruptcy epidemic, and all we have to do is wag a finger and the capitalists will come running, willing to invest billions in anything.

Free zones will create a favorable environment. After all a free zone is a region with economic independence. The enterprises in the zone are not overseen by departments.

This removes the bureaucratic barriers to the development of direct links with foreign firms. The introduction of preferential tax and customs arrangements facilitates imports of equipment, raw materials, and goods and exports of our own products. Moreover, the foreign currency coming into enterprise and local soviet coffers will enable them to independently construct housing, hospitals, and hotels and develop the services sphere. Provided it is skillfully managed, a free zone will not be a burden on the state budget, but will be a source, indeed, a very big source, of convertible currency. All this indicates that free zones do not encroach on national sovereignty at all. There are more than 100 in the United States, for example.

[Prokhvatilov] So where exactly might free zones be created in our country?

[Khasbulatov] In fact, we already have something similar in our country. For example, the Saymenskiy Canal, which links industrial centers in Estonia and Finland. A special legal status is in operation there, facilitating economic cooperation. The canal could be a structural element of a free economic zone covering the whole of the Baltic area.

If you are talking about the European part of the USSR, there are good prospects in southern areas as well. Odessa Oblast, for example. Here we have a developed machine-building base and skilled scientific personnel and manpower: that is, all the preconditions for arranging direct cooperation links with countries in Southern Europe and the Near East.

The prospects for the Far East are outstanding. The region has infinite potential. But how is it being exploited?! Recently I traveled the length of the Baykal-Amur Railroad. A dismal picture, frankly. Felled timber rotting, dilapidated roads, and depressing standard housing in young cities. By establishing a free economic zone there, we could quickly solve the housing question and the problem of food provision and organize a developed services sphere. Incidentally, by arranging direct links with the "industrial tigers" of Southeast Asia, we could develop there, on the basis of local raw material, the production of high-quality paper and then printing equipment, too.

There are plenty of unsolved socioeconomic problems in other Far East oblasts, too, for example in Sakhalin and Kamchatka. There, in my view, it would be appropriate to follow the example of China, which is proposing to set up a free economic zone on the island of Hainan. The major port of Vladivostok is certainly a candidate too.

[Prokhvatilov] Let us assume that we have zones in all these regions—and they are mainly border and coastal areas—and this results in rapid local economic growth and an improved living standard. What will the inhabitants of neighboring regions where they still have the old economic setup think?

[Khasbulatov] Of course, if neighboring regions stand still, problems will arise. In China, for example, average pay is 1.5-2 times higher in free zones. Supplies of consumer goods and food are better too. One could, of course, set a pay ceiling and pull foreign currency revenue into the budget. But what would that achieve? Limiting the prosperity of future free zones is not the solution. The solution is to find ways of accelerating the economic development of every region. In fact, unpromising oblasts, cities, and villages exist only in the minds of functionaries of the system of bureaucratic administration.

[Prokhvatilov] Obviously it is not enough merely to grant free zone status, even to an extensive territory. Other questions have to be solved, such as the convertibility of the ruble, pricing, and migration of the work force.

[Khasbulatov] This has to be dealt with irrespective of whether we are going to create zones or not. The abolition of the degrading system of registration with the police, which inhibits the free exchange of labor and scientific cadres, is an economic imperative. "Closed" areas and cities must at last be opened up to Soviet people and the numerous procedures involved in obtaining documents for foreign business trips must be abolished.

As you can see, the implementation of radical economic transformations requires the full implementation of the 19th party conference decisions geared to the further democratization of our society.

Free economic zones are not an imperialist Trojan horse, as many people still believe. They are an effective means of accelerating our development, a kind of key, albeit not the only one, to the world market. By using them to improve the "quality" of our economy, we will strengthen socialism and its historic potential.

First Soviet Software Center Opens in Moscow

PM1411112188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Ye. Fedorovskiy report: "'Informatika' Commercial Center"]

[Text] A new commercial center has opened on the Moscow Scientific and Technological Propaganda Center premises. It belongs to the "Informatika" Cooperative Union, whose constituent congress ended an hour before the center opened.

"The electronic age," V. Korchagin, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science and newly elected president of the cooperative union, explained, "has given us an opportunity to study the world, to work, to teach our children, and to spend our leisure in a different way. It has also produced quite a few surprises. For instance, although it is true that computers have freed thousands upon thousands of people from carrying out a multitude of operations, including routine operations, the writing of computer programs still depends on the skill and experience of thousands upon thousands of specialists.

"This problem is well known throughout the world. However, unfortunately in the USSR the situation is such that the output of a Soviet programmer is only a fraction of the output of programmers in other countries. And that means that, even where we have managed to equip ourselves with high-performance computer equipment and assimilated modern technologies, work progresses very much more slowly than "on the other side."

How can the efficiency of programming be raised? Many good resolutions and decisions have been passed on this subject. However, up to now they have all foundered on the unshakability of the "hand-to-mouth principles" which hold sway in Soviet programming, programmers' inadequate knowledge about each other's work and current problems, lack of production technology, and poor coordination of joint work.

"The time has come to move from talk to action. The inauguration of the commercial center in Moscow is a tangible, specific step in a series of practical measures intended to pull Soviet programming out of stagnation."

"We are open to everyone," I. Karas, chairman of the 'Informatika' Cooperative Union Board, told me. "Novices will be able to obtain skilled legal consultations or useful advice from us, they will be able to get a list of registered programs for mass use and of services available to the population. We also supply lists of organizations, cooperatives, and individual specialists who are capable of writing a good program quickly, loading it for a client so that it is 'ready to use,' and customizing it to specific requirements on the spot.

"We also welcome programmers. Once accredited at the center, they will be able to actively advertise their programs and offer them for sale on a commission basis. We will help them to find business partners, conduct negotiations, and ultimately conclude mutually advantageous contracts for long-term cooperation.

"As a result the range of programs and services will be extended, their quality will be improved, and the volume of wholesale and retail trade will increase."

So far there is only the Moscow commercial center. Soon similar centers will open in other cities too.

TASS Reports on Leningrad Industry Shortfalls

LD1211191688 Moscow TASS in English 1707 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Leningrad November 12 TASS—TASS Correspondent Nikolay Konstantinov writes:

Never before a report by the Leningrad Statistical Board on the results of the work of the city's industry gave rise to such a lively public discussion as the one issued today.

The point is that the statisticians have for the first time provided the dry statistics concerning the operation of enterprises over the nine months of this year with a detailed commentary, laying bare the real contents of percentage and figures.

The picture turned out to be distant from the optimistic pronouncements of economic managers on the course and results of the economic reform in the second largest industrial centre of the country.

It turned out that every seventh enterprise fell short of the financial plans, and the share of production plants running at a loss amounted to four per cent. The amount of fines paid for failure to supply output and for violation of contractual obligations has exceeded 139 million roubles. Factories' debts have trebled since the beginning of the year, amounting to 280 million roubles.

Previously such indicators would, perhaps, attract the attention of only the economists. The statistical report in its present form gives rise to a widespread interest. It explains what the cityfolk have not got owing to economic malfunctions. The statistics mean, in particular, a shortage of more than one thousand apartments, almost 9,000 colour TV sets, 1,500 refrigerators, and a large amount of food. The service sector failed to render services to the population to a sum of 16 million roubles. The analysis has shown that (despite the rise in wages) every third potential customer was unable to make a single purchase in Leningrad shops.

Nevertheless not all is that bad. The statisticians emphasize in their commentary that the Leningrad economic complex as a whole has increased its efficiency in the conditions of greater scope of new methods of management. The entire increment in output was resultant of a rise in labour productivity. The planned targets for state profits were attained and exceeded (112.6 per cent). It is emphasized that planned targets for export deliveries were exceeded, particularly those for freely convertible currency (104 per cent).

The share of machinery and equipment continuously grows in exports, which has never been the case previously. Their share has already exceeded a quarter of the overall industrial output. Fifty-five per cent of the output is taken up by raw materials and consumer goods, and the rest is taken up by research-intensive technologies, licences, and services.

Maslyukov Greets Economic Weekly on Anniversary

PM1411115188 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 45, Nov 88 (Signed to Press 3 Nov 88) p 16

[Greetings message from Yu. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan under the rubric "1988: EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA's 70th Anniversary"]

[Text] Over the last 70 years, EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA has accomplished much important work to propagandize the CPSU's economic policy, and has constantly oriented readers and working people toward the solution of priority national economic tasks.

Today, under the conditions of restructuring, the newspaper's role, potential, and responsibility are noticeably growing.

I would like to wish the editorial collegium even greater combativeness and assertiveness in reporting new developments in economic methods for managing the national economy aimed at further enhancing its efficiency.

[Signed] Yu. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan

Agricultural

Gorbachev Arrives for Orel Agriculture Conference

Conference Agenda Reported

PM1411163388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Acceleration for Social Development in Countryside"]

[Text] A conference is being held in Orel city 14-15 November which will discuss topical questions of the present stage of restructuring and primarily the party political backup for the fulfillment of the 19th all-union party conference decisions on improving the population's food supply. The participants in the meeting will familiarize themselves with Orel Oblast's experience of the introduction of new production and economic relations and the acceleration of social development in the countryside.

Taking part in the conference are Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, A.V. Vlasov, G.P. Razumovskiy, and Yu.F. Solovyev; first secretaries of union republic Communist Party Central Committees, party kraykoms and obkoms; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Yu.P. Batalin and L.A. Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; and leaders of a number of ministries and departments and central mass media organs.

In the morning of 14 November at the CPSU Obkom conference hall the participants in the meeting acquainted themselves with the Orel Oblast party organization's work in the social reorganization of the countryside and the implementation of the economic reform in the agro-industrial complex.

The conference was opened by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Gorbachev at Exhibition Stands

LD1411230288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in the city of Orel today. A conference with the first secretaries of the union republics' communist party central committees, kraykoms, and obkoms has opened here on topical issues of the party's agricultural policy at the present stage. Our special correspondents report:

[Unidentified correspondent] Before the meeting began Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev examined in the House of Soviets foyer an exhibition devoted to the Hundred [sto] program which is now being implemented in Orel Oblast. Conversations took place here near the stands. Explanations were given here at the exhibition by (Yuriy Viktorovich Osipov), director of an experimental fruit station; (Valentin Pavlovich Borets), director of (Novosilskaya) zonal experimental station for agricultural land improvement; and Vladimir Polyakov, first secretary of Orel Oblast Komsomol Committee.

[Begin recording] [unidentified man] These are our new varieties that have been zonally graded.

[Gorbachev] What proportion does it hold [words indistinct]?

[Man] Twenty-five percent.

[Second man] The one with a striped head is an autumn variety and it keeps till the new year.

[Gorbachev] Till the new year, eh?

[Man] Yes, it has a beautiful taste.

[Gorbachev] Till the new year, on average till the new year?

[Man] Yes.

[Gorbachev] From around the middle reaches of the Don?

[Man] Yes. It has been twice exhibited in Erfurt, and it has earned us two gold medals.

[Third man] The (?"o") variety, with a (?longer) ripening period, would store until February or March.

[Gorbachev] What could you say is its average yield?

[Unidentified woman] At the station 140....

[Gorbachev interrupting] This is better, but it is little as far as the station is concerned. [words indistinct]

[Woman] This is the average for the 5-year period. But years can be different, while the new varieties yield up to 280. The varieties that....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] So, first this harvest is insufficient for the station. And more so, since I can see here potential prospects for 250, 180.

[Woman] Yes.

[Gorbachev] The second thing is that it is also necessary to influence experience.

[Woman] It is not only (?we who can, maybe) mutually....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] Comrades, it is necessary to set up scientific research associations and all that, industrial systems, and take it all upon yourselves, especially in this business. [passage indistinct]

[Unidentified speaker] But there are in our country experimental sites which yield up to 300 quintals per hectare. But there are also those which are low in yield.

[Gorbachev] We have experimental sites for cotton, alfalfa, grain, and rape. All over the country experimental sites are producing such yields that if we just once had such a harvest in the country, we would die, we would not know where to put it. But we need this disseminated en masse, serial production. You know, here is an instruction for you: Get together with large farms and take it under your wing, the way we operate here. They buckle down and set up a scientific production association and build it up more and more. They have their own technology, all that in a sense, all work is under supervision. Take associations, financially autonomous and based on contracting, [words indistinct].

[Woman] Yes, financially autonomous, and contracts, contracts....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] So, let us do it this way.

[Woman] This is the way we are working.

[Third man] The station is very old, Mikhail Sergeyevich. This is the first scientific establishment in the country and in the world set up to fight soil erosion. It was created in 1921, according to the decree of Vladimir Ilich Lenin on combatting drought. The main aim was to combat gullying and soil erosion. However, it is not fortuitous that this locality was chosen for it. For Orel Oblast is one of the areas that is irrigated better. Here the coefficient of expansion is one and three. The oblast currently has some 50 percent of (?irrigated) land. [passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] Do you produce seeds on the farm?

[Man] Yes. Now we will....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] What is your plan for marketing seeds of all these crops?

[Man] It is now 400 tonnes on account of direct state purchases. The oblast needs 1,000 tonnes of seeds to satisfy its requirements. Well, this year we are fulfilling the plan, and we think that [words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] You have now set up your own production system?

[Man] Yes, yes, the agrosilviculturist. As far as we are concerned, the main thing is, you know, the internal [word indistinct] of measures.

[Gorbachev] Well, do answer this: What [word indistinct] can be introduced in connection with the farm?

[Man] We have now taken seed farming on board, in order to....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] But, after all, it is not just seed farming alone. Look at how specific the farming practices are.

[Man] Yes, well, we have land improvement teams. Eleven land improvement teams have now been set up in the oblast. They will deal with [word indistinct]. They will (?if you like, form part of the) system.

[Gorbachev] Is the system provided with seeds for next year?

[Man] Yes, [words indistinct]. We have equipment, and all that now remains to be done is to get down to work.

[Gorbachev] We mean from every point of view.

[Polyakov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, I am Vladimir Polyakov, first secretary of the [word indistinct] committee.

[Gorbachev] What are you doing? What is this program for?

[Polyakov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, (?this) program (?we have here) is a program for rural renewal. [passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] So, how much has already been built?

[Polyakov] How much? Houses that have been built do not stand empty, no, no. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Mikhail Sergeyevich made an opening speech at the meeting in the House of Soviets. Then representatives of Orel Oblast made speeches: Stroyev, obkom first secretary; (Budakov), chairman of the (Verkhniy Olshanskiy) Kolkhoz; (OLyenichev), manager of the Red Banner leasehold collective; (Znamenskaya), manager of family contracting at New Life Kolkhoz; (Rais), head of the Podzyvalovskaya farm of CPSU Kolkhoz; (Peshekhodov) of Campfire Cooperative of Motherland Kolkhoz.

Talks With Oblast Residents

PM1511123088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Nov 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report on M.S. Gorbachev 14 November activities in Orel, under the general heading "Acceleration for Social Development in the Countryside"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin monument.

On the same day [14 November] M.S. Gorbachev and the other participants in the conference went to the "22d Party Congress" Kolkhoz in Orlovskiy Rayon, visited the Mutsanov family lease livestock unit on the "20th Party Congress" Kolkhoz of the Uritskiy Agro-Industrial Association, and studied the work of the party organization and board of the "Za Kommunizm" Kolkhoz of the same association.

In the streets of Orel, M.S. Gorbachev had meetings and talks with inhabitants of the oblast center. The first was at the airport. Mikhail Sergeyevich was surrounded by workers from the "Yantar" clock association and the knitwear factory and construction workers. The conversation immediately turned to the main subject that is currently of concern to millions of people: how to accelerate restructuring and put fully into practice everything planned by the 19th party conference.

As if to sum up the numerous rejoinders, proposals, and remarks from his interlocutors, M.S. Gorbachev said:

Now, comrades, it is necessary to live by the conference. And that means working, thinking, and looking to the future in the way we agreed. And we agreed, as you know, on the important matters. The reform is not going all that simply, as you can see and feel for yourselves. It has required all of us to think about things and look at ourselves differently. We should not be afraid to look at ourselves and see everything the way it is. And we should not think: Some people are not restructuring themselves, whereas I have already restructured myself. No, we must all restructure ourselves.

M.S. Gorbachev inquired about the course of the report and election campaign in the oblast's party organizations. People answered him:

It is interesting, active, honest, self-critical, and at times even stormy. This spirit also characterizes the rayon party conferences that have already been held, and, people think, it accords with the style of revolutionary restructuring of all spheres of our life.

M.S. Gorbachev: That is how life should be in our country. Our own, socialist, working life. So that the working person feels good, sure of himself. And we must purge ourselves of those who try to exploit socialism, those who have joined up with it for selfish reasons. Through economic accountability, reform, and self-management in the labor collectives, through just this kind of atmosphere at party meetings, and through political reform in the soviets we will be able to ensure that the people take everything into their own hands everywhere.

During one conversation M.S. Gorbachev inquired how things stand as regards supplies of food products.

Voice: There is no shortage of dairy products. Poultry, eggs—regular supplies.

M.S. Gorbachev: So food supplies are better than before?

Voice: Much better.

M.S. Gorbachev: These are the matters we have highlighted. Food first of all, then housing, goods, and medicine. We will press ahead firmly to take these problems in hand first of all. That is the most difficult thing. Incidentally, on the question of housing. At one time people all over the country used to study the Orel continuous method, your experience, people emulated you....

Voice: Housing is still difficult at the moment. The time came when our continuous method fell silent.

M.S. Gorbachev: How much housing is built in Orel every year?

Voice: It was approximately 185,000 square meters when the Orel continuous method was at its height. Now we are planning 200,000 square meters. At one time it fell to 130,000. Now we are going up to 200,000.

M.S. Gorbachev: Do you know what happened? Someone came to this conclusion: We have achieved a high level of housing commissioning. It was true. We did indeed rank first in the world in terms of the volume of housing construction. And then we stopped. And many other people caught up with us while we were at a standstill. Now we have started to gather speed. I think we will gain a year in the course of this 5-year plan, we will cover in 5 years the program for 6 years. That is our scale and pace at present. All forms of construction have been brought in: individual, cooperative, local, youth.... And things are moving.

Voice: That is good. But quality must also be improved.

M.S. Gorbachev: Certainly. Otherwise it is no use. Poor quality is another form of window dressing. Nobody needs "sham" work here.

Voice: Mikhail Sergeyevich, may I ask a question?

M.S. Gorbachev: Yes.

Voice: A friend of mine works in the party organs. He works all the time, you can't get away from it, yet his wages are lower than mine at the plant. Will he be given more?

M.S. Gorbachev: Yet there is so much talk to the effect that party workers receive a lot. I will tell you this: As for the party, much is changing here, and you yourselves are aware of this from the party organizations and the activity of the raykoms. We are reducing the apparatus now. The funds thus freed will be used to increase the level of remuneration. So that skilled, experienced, intelligent people can be chosen for party work. Just as you yourselves do, in fact, at the plants and on the farms.

Do you know why we have come here? Because you have started to work better, something has appeared here that is of interest to other people. In general, I think, we should go to the places where things are difficult, but where people are getting out of these difficulties, finding ways out of them. And so we want to see what is being done in Orel Oblast as regards food.

Voice: Much is being done, there is no cause for complaint. It must continue like this....

M.S. Gorbachev: That is how it should be. The end of this 5-year plan is already in sight. While it continues, each oblast and republic has a firm target for this period, but everything they produce over and above the target will remain with them. I think the principle is good. If you want to live better—work better.

That is how it should be everywhere. There will be stable normatives, economically accountable targets, but everything you produce over and above that remains at your own disposal. That is the idea, and that is how it should be.

Voice: Quite right. That is the only way....

M.S. Gorbachev: But not everyone, remember, is pleased that this is how we put it. Some people are used to signing off for the maximum on the job sheet at a construction site, for instance, regardless of what has actually been done. Exactly the same thing happens at plants and in other organizations. And how much overreporting is there in transportation? We cannot live this way. The fact that we have set about restructuring, this is something we all need, we are beginning to have respect for ourselves.

If things have begun to run smoothly, then people should feel this for themselves, they should find that things are becoming better as regards goods and food. If things are going badly in the oblast or the republic, the working people should feel that too. That means people should get together and ask themselves—why? Who is to blame? The labor collective itself, or management that is incapable of running affairs? And if that is the case, it must be replaced. In a word, you asked this question, comrades, and it is up to you to resolve it.

Voice: We never thought we would live to see that day.

M.S. Gorbachev: We will do everything to make it happen this way. So that people feel happy in society, so that if someone has a worthwhile opinion, it is respected. And so that if someone is in trouble, there is sympathy for him and help arrives. That is how life should be.

Voice: That is how young people should be raised.

M.S. Gorbachev: Comrade Zaykov and I recently met with young people, on the 70th anniversary of the Komsomol. And let me tell you: They won me over. What intelligent kids. They want to do something, they have already started doing some things, and, most importantly, they upheld their Komsomol. Their own political organization. I was very pleased with the meeting, our young people are remarkable.

In general—a moral improvement is under way in society. People are feeling better. And that is good, comrades; without it restructuring will not work. It is the individual who must carry out this restructuring. How can he do that, if he is not taken into account, if he cannot have his say, cannot submit proposals, cannot ask, cannot raise a question he considers important? Restructuring will not work that way. If it is to conquer, we need glasnost and democracy.

After all, many good things have been started before. Why did they not work? Because they did not involve the people. Now, on the basis of this experience, we are gathering minds, so to speak. This is the main thing—our people are on the move, they have become more exacting. That must be welcomed. In the first stage of restructuring, at rallies and in conversations, there was much that sometimes smacked of demagoguery, empty criticism. All that is passing.

Look how today, at party meetings, at trade union meetings, in the Komsomol, and in the labor collectives, people are really raising major issues, and raising them firmly. That is really good! What questions do you have for me?

G.M. Stepanova, staffer of the oblast council for tourism and excursions:

Our Turgenev sites—we often show them to people, and I would like you to see them too.

M.S. Gorbachev thanked her for the invitation. He noted that Turgenev is dear to all of us, as a personality of world stature.

The participants in the conversations wished Mikhail Sergeyevich success in his forthcoming trip to India and asked him to convey greetings to the peoples of the friendly country.

M.S. Gorbachev: Our countries are different. But at the same time they are very close. In spirit, by tradition. And our relations are gaining strength. We are glad of that. I think the visit will improve our relations.

Cormades, how do you regard our foreign policy?

Voices: It is correct! We entirely approve!

In the evening, the oblast's amateur artistic collectives gave a concert for the conference participants.

Moscow Radio on Talks

LD1411234488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] As we have already reported, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived in Orel today. Our special correspondents report.

[Unidentified correspondent] During the night, fluffy white snow covered the fields of the Orel Non-Chernozem Zone. Under this snow are winter crops and plowed fields already prepared for the spring sowing. Well, farmers are always pleased with this sort of snow, and people's spirits have been raised here in Orel Oblast, not only because of such good mild weather, but also because of good work and good initiatives which hold out fine promise for the development of the agrarian sector and the oblast economy. This experience is now of interest to all. Party leaders from all over the country have come to find out about it. The people of Orel gave a warm welcome at the railway station yesterday for the participants in the meeting, and at the airport today for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

[Begin recording] [Applause] [Gorbachev] How are things going?

[Women] Well! The Orlovka Knitwear factory. Deputy to the 19th conference.

[Gorbachev] Really? So you are a restructurer, then! [laughter] I think that those who managed to get to the conference had a weighty amount of work to do, especially after it ended and they had gone home.

[Woman] Yes, there is a lot to do here! We visited collectives and told them about it, and conveyed the mood there.

[Gorbachev] But now we have to live according to the conference.

[Indistinct voices among crowd]

[Gorbachev] Well, I am telling you, living means everything working, and thinking, and looking to today and tomorrow as we agreed to do. And we agreed on big matters. There is no need to be afraid to look at oneself as one is, and one should not just think that someone else is not restructuring himself, whereas I have already done it, I have already restructured myself. No, we must all restructure ourselves. But you are probably aware of this already. Now there is also political reform. Look now, how are your meetings in the party going? Are you satisfied with your meetings?

[Female voice] Yes, yes, very vigorously, stormily, the activists are committed.

[Gorbachev] Well, down to business, yes? Down to business? Down to business!

[Woman] Brief, but, that is, copious, specific.

[Gorbachev] Do the obkom and the raykom hinder you in electing the people you believe should be elected?

[Female voices] No, no. There is complete democracy.

[Gorbachev] Complete democracy. Well, you are in a better position to see.

[Woman] It was already apparent from the report-backs and elections in the primary party organizations. And this is being preserved at the raykom conferences; they are in progress in two rayons.

[Gorbachev] Do they publish who they are recommending for the raykom or the gorkom?

[Female voice] Yes, yes.

[Gorbachev] So, people know, eh?

[Female voice] Yes, they take questionnaires from them; they take photographs in advance.

[Man] They even hang them up in the reception areas in the factories in advance.

[Gorbachev] You know, that is how life should be in our country. Our own socialist, working life, so that the man of labor feels well and confident. But all those who try to exploit socialism, who find a place and settle in—you understand, the parasite—you must purge yourself of all of these. Through financial autonomy, through reform, through self-management in the labor collectives, through such a situation at the party meetings, through political reform in the soviets, we will reach this, so that the people will come into their own everywhere. That is all. Everything is simple, actually: But how is it to be done? That is not so simple!

[Female voice] [laughter]

[Gorbachev] A difficult oblast, things have been taking shape with difficulty, and now when things have got moving, that is good. So, it is possible to move. The main example, the precedent, set by the people of Orel, lies in the fact that it is possible to move, and even in the most difficult situation there is a way out. But you have to get to grips with it all together. That is why we came! [laughter] Both to support you and to take a look, to listen to what you are doing here.

[Woman] Both to support us, and to take a look at us, to learn what there is to learn!

[Gorbachev] Well, probably the comrades who have come will have something useful to say to you, too.

[Woman] Of course, and in addition, (?imitate). [end recording]

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev laid flowers at the Lenin Monument. Here, on the central square, a conversation with town residents took place.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] You have started working better. Something has emerged here in Orel Oblast which attracted the interest of others.

[Man] That is right.

[Gorbachev] So that means you are to blame for everyone coming here! [laughter] Although, in general, I think that one should go to precisely the places where things are difficult. People have probably come here before, but now we have come, I can tell you frankly, with the aim of looking at what is being done in Orel Oblat in regard to food matters. You can judge for yourselves; this will be the best information for us.

[Indistinct voices]

[Gorbachev] Things have gotten better, have they not?

[Indistinct voices] Better, yes, okay!

[Gorbachev] Honestly?

[Indistinct voices] Honestly!

[Gorbachev] But I think [words indistinct] it should not be any worse....

[Woman, interrupting] We hope it will be beter.

[Another woman] There is meat, there is butter, there is milk, there is bread....

[Gorbachev, interrupting] ...I think so too, because in our country, the thing is this: The 5-Year Plan is approaching; it will be coming soon now, and while this currently goes on, each oblast and republic has a firm target for the 5-year plan. Everything produced above that stays on the spot. That is a good principle of mine: If you want things to be better, then work away, just work away! And in fact, that is how things should be in other spheres, too. There will be norms and financial autonomy targets, and everything saved is left at the disposal of the workers or the builders or at the works. That is how it should be. That is the way, properly speaking, we intended everything. The formula is simple: It is not so easy to implement it, but the idea is just as simple as that: Work better and you will live better! The less well you work, the less well you will live! I reckon that is right, too, comrades!

[Voices] Yes, that is right!

[Gorbachev] And how else, indeed? Just bear in mind that not everyone is pleased that we have posed the issues in this way. Some people have gotten used to cooking up a work schedule on a construction site, regardless of what has been done there, by at least R15 or 20. So we say: So what? Are we to blame for the fact that we came along? It is just the same with laying in fodder and silage. You write down so much, I will work for you, if not I will go to another kolkhoz to help gather it in. That is how it is.

That will not do; that will not do. You cannot live like that. This has spoiled all of us, actually, and the fact that we have engaged in restructuring, we all need this, we simply need it for life. And we somehow feel that we are already beginning to respect ourselves, so to speak. We can do it, comrades. Look, here is an example: Orel

Oblast. For 20 years the oblast marked time in agriculture, 20 years. And things got going. And you have felt this, too. That is how it should be. Things are better and people should feel that it is better: better with housing, better with goods, better with food supplies. If things go badly in the oblast or republic, then the workers should feel this, sit down, meet, and discuss. Why? Either we are working badly, the labor collective, or it is the management, you know, that is not capable of running things as they should be organized; let us have some others. Here you are, everything is before you, you can see, tackle it, we have elaborated such laws, and here as they say, take power into your hands. Perhaps this is what can be said over 3 years, two things: the fact that how people feel....

[Woman, interrupting] Of course, that is the main thing.

[Gorbachev] ... a worker in Latvia was speaking at an activists' meeting. They were saying that this is not up to much, and that has to be improved, and done, and then he finished his speech. He says: All the same—you know—to hell with this sausage! To hell with these rags, we will yet have all of this, we will make it! But it would be a good thing for people in society to feel good and that a person's opinion is respected. If it is a worthwhile opinion, that it should be respected. And if he is in trouble, that he should receive sympathy and help. That is how it should be in life.

[Woman] You know that we are old, we cannot help you properly!

[Gorbachev] Of course! But you are not old! [laughter] I am sure that we are the same age, but I do not consider myself an old man! [laughter]

[Man] But we have good young people do we not, Mikhail Sergeyevich?

[Man] We have lots of them!

[Gorbachev] [word indistinct] Just recently, on the 70th anniversary, they showed young people on television. Let me tell you I was bowled over by the young people. What clever youngsters! The main thing is that they defended their komsomol, their very own political organization. That is very good. I am extremely pleased. Young people are not only in Moscow, and in Orel, in Siberia; a good proportion of them have maintained all their strength and capabilities and their desires to live in a new way and to refashion life anew. So, the fact that there has been an improvement, a sort of moral improvement, people are feeling better—that is good!

It started earlier, after all, a very great deal of good work. After the war, you remember Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev and his time, the Central Committee already working under the leadership of Comrade Brezhnev. A lot of such things started: Do you remember the March plenum of 1965, what a big plenum that was? And how the country made a start...[Gorbachev changes thought] and the eighth 5-year plan proceeded well at that time. And then everything started to go downhill. Why was that? Because they did not involve the people in all these matters. This is why we are learning from this experience now, getting wise, so to speak. It is an unusual thing for our people to find its voice and start in motion, start making demands. Well, I will tell you, everything that is legal, everything that is substantiated is raised and put forward—all this must be welcomed. [end recording]

[Announcer] We have broadcast a report from the town of Orel, where a meeting began today between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the republican Communist Parties, kraykoms, and obkoms on topical questions of the party's agrarian poicy.

Gorbachev Makes Opening Speech

PM1511104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 Nov 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report on M.S. Gorbachev 14 November opening speech at Orel conference on food supply problems (no official title of conference given), published under the general heading: "Acceleration for Social Development in Countryside"]

[Text] Orel, 14 Nov—A conference opened here today which in the next 2 days will discuss topical questions of the present stage of restructuring, and primarily the party's political backup for the fulfillment of the 19th all-union party conference decisions on improving the population's food supply. The participants in the meeting will familiarize themselves with Orel Oblast's experience in introducing new production and economic relations and accelerating social development in the countryside.

Taking part in the conference are Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, A.V. Vlasov, G.P. Razumovskiy, and Yu.F. Solovyev; first secretaries of union republic Communist Party Central Committees, party kraykoms and obkoms; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Yu.P. Batalin and L.A. Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; and leaders of a number of ministries, departments, and central mass media organs.

In the morning at the CPSU Obkom conference hall the participants in the meeting acquainted themselves with the Orel Oblast party organization's work in the social reorganization of the countryside and the implementation of the economic reform in the agro-industrial complex.

The conference was opened by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He said:

I welcome you, comrades, to Orel. In opening this meeting I should like to explain why we have gathered here in Orel. Essentially this is a unique and to a certain extent unprecedented meeting, although such meetings have been held in Moscow and other places before. First and foremost we are holding this meeting within the framework of the practical work of the party and the working people to implement the 19th party conference's political guidelines. We intend to discuss current tasks here and the practical questions of resolving the country's food supply.

We are approaching the party Central Committee February plenum, at which we intend to determine the tasks of the CPSU's modern agrarian policy. We are now consulting with scientists, specialists, and representatives of labor collectives on these questions. Recently we examined these questions at the party Central Committee from the viewpoint of the participation of the country's national economic sectors in resolving the tasks facing the agro-industrial complex, and indeed the whole country, in terms of this most important domestic policy question. We should hold this meeting in such a way that it enriches us with proposals, suggestions, and conclusions about how the CPSU's agrarian policy should be at this important stage in our country's development. We must take into account the realities of the agrarian sector itself and the food situation in the country.

At this meeting we must consider real experience and scientific achievements in this sphere of the economy. I believe that it is only by basing ourselves on the realities, a knowledge of these processes, and a correct assessment of them that we will be able to go to the February Plenum with a well considered, scientifically validated, realistic policy. We do not need mere words on this topic: A great many words, in fact, have already been spoken on this score in recent years, notably during the years of restructuring. It is clear to us now that we cannot move successfully forward without resolving that task. But it is important at this conference to have an exchange of opinions which will enrich us.

This meeting also has a professional purpose. On the eve of the great work of the winter months in the republics, krays, and oblasts, we are expecting to determine here new ways to transfer our main sector—kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and rural workers—to new forms of economic management, and to determine everything which constitutes such a concept as the fundamental restructuring of economic relations in the countryside. Therefore our meeting must also bear in mind this work, which is urgent in character.

This is important for us, comrades, because on the one hand we have already achieved certain levels in the process which is under way. And we feel confident. But on the other hand we all have the feeling that work is progressing slowly. Therefore I believe that, without the party's weighty word, without tremendous ideological, explanatory, and organizational work and work with cadres and working people, this project will go off course. At the same time we must consult each other on how we are going to continue our practical work in transferring agricultural production to new technologies.

Naturally a question occurs to you: All these problems could have been discussed in Moscow. It is easier to get there, and perhaps even the conditions are more conducive to holding a conference. Well, it's a fact: Moscow knows a few things about staging conferences [Moskva soveshchaniya nauchilasya provodit]; it has great experience of this, so to speak. (Animation in the auditorium) But here I come to another, equally important aspect of this matter—a direct approach to the improvement of food supplies in the country and the role of republic, kray, and oblast party organizations in this.

Of course, it is very important to have a progressive agrarian policy. It is important for this policy to be backed up by the center, by national economic sectors, and by science. This is all correct. Indeed, it is something we are now tackling centrally and resolving issue by issue, taking account of the vital need to restructure the agrarian sector.

Yet the nature of agriculture—this uniquely specific sector of our economy—is such that the results of work depend to a decisive extent on the activity of local organs, rural working people on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and those working on livestock units and the land. The agrarian sector's practical tasks can only be guided and resolved taking into account all the diversity and different features of each region.

That is why I want to say once again that, no matter what we may do at the top, it will have no effect unless there is a fundamental restructuring of work locally, on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and private and other subsidiary plots—and, needless to say, unless local party, soviet, and economic organs adopt the right position and attitude to this important matter.

From this standpoint I should note that there have been quite major changes in the Orel area over the last 2 or 3 years. This confirms my idea that a very great deal depends on the initiative and independence of local organs.

For 20 years this oblast was marking time. R1.1 billion in gross output was produced in the 8th 5-Year Plan and exactly the same amount was produced in the 11th 5-Year Plan. There had been 20 years of funds, capital investment, fertilizers, equipment, and so forth. And during all those years nothing changed with regard to output. And now in the past 2-3 years there have been such positive changes that one wonders what had been going on. That's the first point.

Second. We chose this oblast specially. We could have gone to the Kuban, where there is something worth seeing even in the worst year. Its potential is enormous. We could have gone to other oblasts which today perhaps have even greater experience. Or rather their position is better. And the villages and the roads are all better. But nonetheless we came here. Because you have been marking time for 20 years, and it should be remembered that this oblast was ravaged by the war. Such were the battles in this area that it took an enormous effort to restore the region to life. The population of Orel Oblast is still less than it was before the war. Taking all this into account there are positive changes under way here. And we indulged in no patronage [patronazh] here, so to speak; we did not set anything up for the Orel area. It is from this standpoint that we value your local experience.

Things have started changing. Although, of course, the main job still lies ahead. But this is what is positive. We talked with Orel working people in two areas, and they told us that the food problem is no longer a worry. I asked questions. No, they said, you can have a reasonable life now. Of course, improvements have to be made, but things have already changed. There are the questions of housing, the quality of construction work, the modernization of enterprises, and others. This is interesting. It is a change in the situation that has already been sensed by working people. And this, comrades, after just 2-3 years!

I think that you now understand why we fundamentally needed this meeting: We need to talk with you about the current situation and about food matters. And, finally, about why this meeting is being held in Orel Oblast.

The conference was declared open.

Cotton Harvest Improves Record Over Last Year

PM1411160988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Nov 88 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Gavrichkin "Agricultural Review": "The Unalloyed Glitter of 'White Gold'"]

[Excerpt] A most unusual situation: It is still only the first days of November, yet the harvesters have already left the fields of many farms in the cotton-sowing republics.

On 3 November a report came in from Tajikistan that the farmers had fulfilled the plan for selling cotton to the state. More than 900,000 tonnes of raw cotton had been handed over for processing. The order has been fulfilled for the most valuable fine-fiber cotton—almost 300,000 tonnes of it has been produced.

The day before the Uzbek farmers reached the 5 million tonne mark in the cotton harvest—1.5 million (!) tonnes more than was harvested by this time last year. In order to fulfill the plan the cotton growers still have to harvest 4 million tonnes of white bolls. Judging by the daily increase in deliveries, reports of success can be expected any day.

On 4 November our correspondent V. Kuleshov reported from Ashkhabad that Turkmen farmers had coped with the plan for selling raw cotton. The warehouses had received 1.28 million tonnes of it. The republic has never procured this amount of cotton in November. Another factor is surprising: The Turkmen cotton growers, overfulfilling the plan, sold the state almost 420,000 tonnes of fine-fiber cotton—the harvesting of which has usually dragged on almost until the new year.

Another interesting point. In Tajikistan, for example, not a single student worked on the cotton plantations during the harvest campaign. As a matter of fact, city residents' assistance in the harvest here was abandoned 3 years ago. Uzbekistan and Turkmenia are getting by without the former "mobilizations." It is easy to see how they are managing this. In Turkmenia, for example, out of the total cotton "gross output" 830,000 tonnes were harvested by machine—a figure without precedent in past years. This shows that this is possible.

But, unfortunately, not everyone is yet able to do this. The harvest in Azerbaijan is being held up. The organizers of the cotton harvest usually complain here of a difficult year. To a certain degree the republic farmers really have been unlucky: The bad weather dictated both resowing the cotton and its later ripening. But the sky is hardly to blame for the purely organizational disarray. In many rayons the plantations were not prepared for machine harvesting. [passage omitted]

Scientific

Space Shuttle Program Successfully Launched

'Buran' Preparations Reported

LD1411144388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Presented by Vladimir Fadeyev]

[Text] As we have already reported, blast-off for the universal spacecraft system "Energiya," which includes the Buran reusable craft, has been announced for 15 November, the day after tomorrow, at 0600 Moscow Time [0300 GMT]. Our correspondent Leonid Lazarevich reports from the Baykonur launching site:

[Begin recording] [Lazarevich] Just over 30 hours remain before the universal spacecraft system blasts off. The preparation for that launch is underway. We are now in the assembly-and-test block, and I am with Professor (Vladimir Mikhailovich Korystyanov), doctor of technical sciences, one of the participants in these works. Tell me please, (Vladimir Mikhailovich), what is happening now at the launching site? After all, there is very little time left now.

[(Korystyanoy)] Today is our fianl day of pre-launch preparation. It is the day when we are effectively ready for the launch. All the checks have been run. The unit is linked with all the ground comunications, and we must remove all those fixtures and plugs—what we call the redness....

[Lazarevich interrupting] Redness, because these are bright red spots on the white rocket.

[(Korystyanoy)] Yes, they're made red specially so that people do not neglect to remove them before the launch, since they naturally impede flight. We will now conduct an additional check of all electrical components, final control elements and pyrotechnical installations, followed by preparation for fuelling and the fuelling operation proper. Then later at night we turn on all the electrical control systems, and in the morning at 1000 on 14 November the process of preparation for fuelling will begin, what we call the nitrogen cycle for preparation of the hydrogen tank. And only after this, before the launch, do we send liquid hydrogen aboard.

[Lazarevich] These operations have already been done before. That was on 28 October. But we know that on 29 October, the launch was postponed because a subassembly did not retract, and automatic systems stopped the course of the launch operations—52 minutes before the blast-off. Tell me, please, what has been done to avert the situation that arose 2 weeks ago?

[(Korystyanoy)] For us to decide on the next flight, we had to have a definite reason for why that subassembly did not retract. A special commission was set up which broke up into a large number of groups and analyzed all possible situations which might lead to such a nonretraction, or—to be more precise—such a delayed retraction of the subassembly, since the time alloted to it is 1 second, and it took 38 seconds to retract. When the reason was definitely identified and reporduced, then that gave us the opportunity to take the decision and to direct all efforts toward repeating preparations for the launch.

[Lazarevich] Well, now apparently everything has been checked over and passed. But a postponed launch is a postponed launch. And that probably tells somehow on the mood.

[(Korystyanoy)] Psychologically, of course, it is tough and people's moods are naturally not as joyous as we are, so to speak, getting on with the direct process of preparing for a launch. We have the term direct process for when we are preparing the rocket, and reverse process for when we are compelled to drain the rocket and remove it from the launch pad. But in this particular case, taking into consideration the fact that we quickly came to grips with the fault and saw ways for its elimination, people again experienced a change in mood, a change in the way they felt, and even the fatigue which accumulated during preparation for the first launch did not prevent people from preparing for this launch with the same enthusiasm day and night. On 6 November—and all the holidays on 7 and 8—we conducted a repeat cycle of tests. To increase dependability, we took the decision to repeat the by-channel check [po-kanal'naya provyerka] of the control systems of the rocket-carrier, since it is involved in switching on the power plant and provides for a safe and reliable launching of the unit. An additional 19 regimens for by-channel checking were conducted. Then joint tests were conducted of the carrier-rocket and the orbital craft with a full set of all pre-launch preparation operations, which all passed off without a hitch, and thus this volume of tests gave us an opportunity to proceed to the final day, which is happening today. Tomorrow we have the beginning of the 2 days of pre-blast-off preparation. The 14th is the 1st day, and the 15th is the 2d day of the pre-blast-off preparation, with provision of the launch at 0600 Moscow Time.

[Lazarevich] Good luck to you! [end recording]

Final Launch Preparations

LD1411144788 Moscow TASS in English 1225 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Baykonur Cosmodrome November 14 TASS—Almost 700 spotlights once again light up the launch complex with the multi-purpose space transportation system, Energiya-Buran, standing upright on the pad. The final operations to prepare it for liftoff, which is set for November 15, began here this morning.

Just like in the run-up to the first blast-off, which was delayed, all of the cosmodrome's services have switched to special operations: The last specialists leave the launch complex, computers increasingly take control and monitor each stage of the preparatory checks.

The preparations for the first launch of the Buran/Energiya system are known to have been automatically halted 51 seconds before the blast-off on October 29, V. Filin, the deputy chief designer of the Energiya multi-purpose space transportation system for experimental studies, said at a meeting with journalists. The launch was cancelled because the so-called access arm with instruments of the rocket's azimuthal orientation system installed inside it was slow to retract. The analysis showed that this was, though strange as it may seem, a result of the overcomplicated design of the joint between the swing arm and the orbiter hatch. By the way, during the Energiya's first launch such an access arm was not used because the existing high-launch accuracy did not require it at that time.

In other words, after the command was made for this structure to dislocate from the rocket's side, the computer recorded that it did not work, or to be more precise, it took the apparatus 38 seconds instead of three to perform this operation. For this reason, the platform with a cosmonaut escape chute, which should have retracted the access arm then, did not even have time to switch on. Following the analysis, the structure where the access arm interfaces with the rocket side was modernized. It became simpler and more reliable, which the tests on the experimental plant have confirmed, so minimizing chances of faults.

The preparations of the rocket for refuelling will begin approximately 14 hours before the launch. And after that the multi-purpose Energiya/Buran system will soar into space.

Cyclone Approaches Cosmodrome

LD1411191988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Tomorrow at 0600 Moscow time the launch of the universal space-rocket system "Energiya" with the "Buran" reusable orbital craft is to take place. Our special correspondent, Leonid Lazarevich, is at Baykonur Cosmodrome. We hand over to him:

[Lazarevich] The people have left the launch complex. Those who are to supervise the blast-off are located in a special shelter where their safety is guaranteed. The concluding prelaunch operations are being conducted by automatic systems. Telemetric information about the work of all systems is coming in constantly and is being analyzed by computers. [passage omitted]

In this first flight "Buran" is being launched without a crew. After two orbits it should return to Earth. The automatic systems should bring the craft down to the landing site. It is now late evening at the Cosmodrome.

It is a pity, though, that the weather is breaking up. The weathermen are warning that a cyclone is coming. But maybe it will nevertheless pass by, and maybe it will not impede the launch. I am very much hoping so. The rocket and the craft are now picked out in the gloom by the floodlights. The preparation for fueling the rocket is underway. Its main channels and tanks are being blown through with nitrogen. In a few hours the fueling proper will begin.

Shuttle System Launched

LD1511031388 Moscow TASS in English 0312 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Baykonur Space Centre November 15 TASS—The reusuable spacecraft, Buran (snowstorm), was launched in the Soviet Union today. It was put into orbit by a new powerful booster rocket, Energiya. During the test flight the unmanned Buran will make two near-earth orbits.

Shuttle Statistics Reported

LD1511033688 Moscow TASS in English 0330 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Yuriy Shevyakov and Vladimir Isachenkov:

The reusable spacecraft Buran, which was launched today from the Baykonur Space Centre, has nearly the same size as a usual passenger airliner.

It is 36 metres in length, and 5.6 metres in diameter. Its wing area is 250 square meters, with a wing span of 24 metres.

In appearance the Buran resembles the U.S. space shuttle, which has the same streamlined forms and a double-Delta wing—the laws of aerodynamics are international.

The hull of the Buran, like that of its American counterpart, is covered with 38,000 heat-proof ceramic tiles to protect it from the impact of hot plasma during the re-entry into the dense layers of the atmosphere.

The overall launching and landing mass of the orbital spacecraft can reach respectively 105 and 82 tons. The Buran can place 30 tons of payload into orbit and return from space with 20 tons.

Unlike the U.S. shuttle whose own engines operate in the second stage, the Buran is accelerated to the suborbital speed by the booster rocket Energiya which develops a total thrust of 3,500 tons.

The Buran's own propulsion unit serves as a kind of third stage and is switched on at an altitude of 160 kilometeres to bring the spacecraft to orbital speed.

Then it is switched on once more for entering a circular orbit at an altitude of 250 kilometers.

The joint propulsion unit includes also control engine blocks situated in the front and tail sections of the orbiter.

When gliding in the atmosphere the spacecraft is controlled by ailerons, the control vane and air brakes as an ordinary aircraft. However, its touch-down speed is 340 kilometres per hour and the landing run 1,100-2,000 metres.

These characteristics are approximately the same as those of jet fighters but exceed by far those of modern jet liners.

Therefore, a landing strip 4.5 kilometres long and 84 metres wide was specially built 12 kilometres from the launch pad at the Baykonur Space Centre.

The Buran is fitted with a deceleration parachute which is jettisoned when the speed comes down to 50 km per hour.

During this flight the Buran is unmanned. Specialists say that the possibilty of automatic control in the new spacecraft—another distinction from the U.S. shuttle—will enable cosmonauts to devote considerably more time to scientific experiments.

The crew cabin, measuring nearly 70 cubic metres, can accommodate two to four cosmonauts. There is also room for six passengers.

The payload bay is 4.7 metres in diameter and 18.3 metres in length.

It is planned that the orbital spacecraft will retrieve used satellites and other large-size structures from orbit.

There are also plans to dock it with the orbital station MIR in the future.

Prospects for Space Program

LD1511042888 Moscow TASS in English 0336 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Yuriy Shevyakov and Vladimir Isachenkov:

The use of the multipurpose boster rocket Energiya, which today put into orbit the orbital spacecraft Buran, will make it possible to further accelerate the peaceful development of outer space.

With the launching mass of up to 2,400 tons it can put into near-earth orbits more than 100 tons of payload.

Energiya is capable of taking into space not only reusable spaceships but also other large-size spacecraft.

The new rocket will help to launch heavy communications satellites into geostationary orbit and unmanned interplanetary stations into deep space, to transport large-size modules and structures for the assembly of multipurpose orbital complexes, and to deploy in orbit experimental solar power plants with large areas of solar batteries, to meet the needs of space production.

This paves the way for the industrialization of near-earth space.

In terms of power Energiya is superior to all the other booster rockets currently in use. The engines of Energiya develop a total thrust of 3,500 tons and fire simultaneously at lift-off.

This makes it possible to skirt the problem of starting up engines in zero gravity and enhances the reliability of the system.

Today's flight is unmanned, but in the future the Buran will carry a crew of two to four cosmonauts.

A group of pilots, led by Igor Volk, started preparations for flights aboard a reusable craft in the early 1980s.

In 1984, Volk made a flight aboard an orbital station. To develop his piloting skills, immediately after landing he first piloted a helicopter, then sat at the controls of a TU-154 jet liner, and after that flew a supersonic MIG fighter.

Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the chief administration for the development and use of space engineering for the economy and research (Glavkosmos) of the USSR, said the Soviet Union is building several reusable spacecraft.

Their manned flights will begin only after all systems have been fully tested in the unmanned mode.

It is planned to carry out not more than two to four missions a year, during which space equipment is to be repaired and used components are to be returned to earth.

'Impressive' Size of System

LD1511045488 Moscow TASS in English 0340 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS correspondents Yuriy Shevyakov and Vladimir Isachenkov:

The reusable orbital spacecraft Buran, which was launched in the morning today, was placed in near-earth orbit by the rocket Energiya, the world's most powerful operational booster.

Energiya is capable of putting a 100-ton payload into orbit. It is a multi-purpose system unique in the world.

It can put not only orbital spacecraft but also other large-size space vehicles and, in particular, interplanetary unmanned stations, into space.

Unlike the American space shuttle, whose own sustainer engine serves as a second stage for placing the spacecraft into orbit, the Buran is accelerated to the suborbital speed by Energiya, while the spacecraft's propulsion unit is switched on only at an altitude of 160 km to accelerate it to the orbital speed.

The multi-purpose space rocket system also includes a launch complex which is unique in its size and technical equipment.

Its size is impressive: suffice it to say that the shaft to trap gaseous jets during blast-off is 23 metres deep and has a diameter of 20 metres.

A unique cryogenic system has been created at the launch site for fuelling the Energiya engines with liquid oxygen and hydrogen.

The mixture of hydrogen and air is explosive, which explains why before loading, the tanks of the rocket are purged with nitrogen to remove all air and then with gaseous hydrogen. Only after that the tanks are filled with liquid hydrogen.

Transportation of huge rocket units, measuring about eight metres in diameter, from the factories to the space centre is quite a problem, as they are too big to fit into normal railway platforms and cargo aircraft.

The units have therefore been flown to the site by a specially modified heavy aircraft.

The designers of the Energiya-Buran system devoted much attention to safety systems.

The computing complex at the launch site, which controls numerous units and mechanisms participating in launch preparations, interacts with the onboard control system which also monitors the state of all systems of the booster rocket.

On October 29, the computer system halted the countdown of the first planned launch of the Buran orbiter with only 51 seconds left before blast-off.

The reason for the halt was a delayed separation of an instrumented block of the azimuthal orientation system from the body of the booster rocket.

Calculated Orbit Achieved

LD1511045488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0436 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] On 15 November 1988 at 06:00 Moscow time, the launch was carried out in the Soviet Union of the "Energiya" universal rocket-space transport system with the reusable "Buran" ship. At 06:47 the orbital ship went into the calculated orbit.

The program of tests envisages a two-orbit flight of the orbital ship around Earth and the landing of it in automatic mode at the Baykonur Space Center at 09:25 Moscow time.

Differs From U.S. System

LD1511055088 Moscow TASS in English 0501 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS correspondents Yuriy Shevyakov and Vladimir Isachenkov:

The Energiya space rocket transport system together with the Buran reusable spacecraft were launched by the Soviet Union at 6.00 Moscow time today. At 6.47 the orbital spacecraft reached the calculated orbit.

Despite an immediate resemblance, the Buran space rocket system essentially differs from the U.S. space shuttle.

The American space craft is put into space with the help of two solid-fuel boosters and its own liquid fuel propulsion unit with a fuel tank, jettisoned into the ocean after acceleration.

Soviet designers chose a different way: the propulsion system of the Buran is not ignited at the launch and only the engines of the Energiya operate, developing a total thrust of 3,500 tons in the beginning of the flight.

The Energiya booster rocket has a two-stage "package" configuration with the longitudinal arrangement of the four units of the first stage around the second-stage core unit.

Each first-stage unit is equipped with a four-chamber liquid propellant jet engine, which develops an 800-ton thrust and uses kerosene and oxygen.

The second stage has four single-chamber liquid propellant jet engines, each with a thrust of 200 tons and using oxygen and hydrogen as fuel.

After fuel utilization, the first-stage units are jettisoned in pairs from the rocket and land in a pre-determined area. They can be fitted with return and landing facilities. On completion of diagnostics and restoration, they can be re-used.

The central, second-stage unit is jettisoned after reaching the suborbital speed and splashes down in a pre-determined area in the Pacific.

The propulsion unit of Buran fires at an altitude of 160 km and fulfills the functions of a third stage by accelerating it to the orbital speed.

The Energiya is capable of putting 18 tons of payload intdo geostationary orbit, delivering 32 tons to the moon or 28 tons to Mars and Venus.

During work on the Energiya much attention was paid to ensuring the reliability and survivability of its systems and units.

Special means of emergency protection are provided to monitor the condition of the engines of both stages and shut them off in an emergency.

The rocket can continue controlled flight even if one sustainer engine of the first or second stage fails, which is impossible with the solid-fuel boosters of the American space shuttle system.

In the event of an accident during the launch of the orbital spacecraft, the automatic system either puts the rocket into a lower trajectory orbit of an artificial earth satellite with a subsequent landing at one of the aerodromes, or executes a return manoeuvre at the boost phase of flight with the landing of the spacecraft on the runway near the launch complex.

The reliability of the safety system was confirmed by the abortive launch of the Buran on October 29. The computer system halted the countdown with only 51 seconds left before the blast-off due to a delayed separation of an instrumented block of the azimuthal orientation system from the body of the booster rocket.

A test programme provides for a two-circuit flight of the Buran orbital spacecraft round the earth and its landing in the automatic regime in the Baykonur Cosmodrome at 9.25 Moscow time.

Spacecraft Landing Described

LD1511065288 Moscow TASS in English 0648 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Moscow November 15 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Shevyakov and Vladimir Isachenkov:

The test flight of the Soviet orbital spacecraft Buran is over. It landed like an aircraft on the concrete runway, 12 km away from the launch pad at the Baykonur Space Centre.

Launched into space by the powerful booster rocket Energiya early today, Buran made two circuits of the earth in an unmanned mode.

A united control centre was set up for the first time for the landing of reusable spacecraft at the Soviet cosmodrome, complete with a runway measuring 4.5 km in length and 84 metres in width.

The landing complex also includes radio aids, range finders, landing and air traffic control systems in the area of Baykonur, a six-story building which contains equipment to receive telemetry and other information, a computer centre, units of navigational and landing systems, and communications and meteorological centres.

The tasks of the control centre are to detect and enable the guidance and landing approach of the spacecraft and its post-flight maintenance.

In the main control room navigators and operators are working at display units and plan-position indicators. The screens display the parameters of the approaching spacecraft—height, range, speed and others.

Upon the completion of the orbital flight, the spacecraft turns around and moves with its tail foward, switches on its retrofire engine and starts descending.

At an altitude of 40 km, it begins an aerodynamic flight, controlled with the help of ailerons, the air vane and air brakes, gliding like a usual aircraft.

At the descent stage, the Buran is capable of carrying out a lateral manoeuvre of up to 2,000 kilometres long.

Its landing speed of 310-340 km/h and the landing run of 1,100-2,000 metres are much higher than for modern jets.

The Buran has a decelerating parachute which is jettisoned once its speed is down to 50 km/h.

Before the touch-down, an escort aircraft takes off, fitted with optical and tv tracking systems to monitor the spacecraft's landing, the extension of the undercarriage and the gliding stage.

Operations Systems Monitoring

LD1511070188 Moscow TASS in English 0654 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Flight control centre November 15 TASS—TASS correspondents Vladimir Isachenkov and Yuriy Shevyakov report:

All the subsystems aboard the Soviet Buran orbital spacecraft, put in orbit today, were continuously monitored by specialists back on earth. The flow of telemetric readings from the spacecraft did not get interrupted even for a second. The spacecraft is only being tested in this automatic mode—as a next step, it will be manned by crews of two or four cosmonauts who will take over some of the chores involved in the control of different systems and assemblies. Depending on the tasks of the mission, the crew may even be increased up to ten.

The communication systems ensuring the flight of the Buran include earth-bound measuring centres scattered over vast distances from the Crimea (the Black Sea coast) to the far east, and also four research vessels. Two of these—the cosmonaut Vladimir Volkov and the cosmonaut Pavel Belyayev—were off the western coast of Africa, while the other two—the cosmonaut Georgiy Dobrovolskiy and the Marshal Nedelin—near the western coast of South America. To relay information from aboard the Buran back to earth, use was also made of two Molniya (lightning) satellites and of the Luch (beam) and the Gorizont (horizon) satellites in geostationary orbits (at a distance of 36,000 km from the earth).

All telemetric information, relayed to the flight control centre, was immediately processed by computers and transmitted on to the display screens of the operators in the control room. The central screen shows the earth's hemispheres, on which a bright running dot marks the spacecraft's whereabouts. Several circles are traced on the scheme. These are the zones of radio visibility of the Buran by the tracking stations situated in Soviet territory. Each time the spacecraft left the boundaries of the zone marked by such a circle, its monitoring was taken over by another earth-bound station or a research vessel. Analyzing the incoming information, the centre forecast the trajectory of the orbiting spacecraft and the condition of all its systems.

The centre is responsible for the flights of space vehicles down to their very landing. Today the centre's mission ended only after the Buran spacecraft landed at 9.25 Moscow time on a 4.5-kilometre-long concrete strip not far from the launching site.

TASS Reviews Shuttle Flight

LD1511095888 Moscow TASS in English 0931 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Mission Control Center November 15 TASS—by TASS correspondents Yuriy Shevyakov and Vladimir Isachenko:

The launch site of Baykonur Cosmodrome in Kazakhstan's steppe, which this morning featured on the giant screen of the Mission Control Center, located near Moscow, differed drastically from what had been seen here previously. The 68-meter-long rocket Energiya with the 100-ton Buran space orbiter attached to it, stood upright between the multi-tier service structures against a backdrop of the grey and cloudy sky. Weather forecasters reported that a cyclone was moving toward Baykonur from the Aral Sea, winds were gusting, and the temperature rose several degrees above zero. The state comission met urgently to decide whether to allow the launch.

5:30. Although half an hour was left before the planned launch, there is not a single person in the zone adjacent to the rocket. The area has been deserted since about midnight when the rocket began to be filled with hydrogen. On previous occasions however, the launch personnel went to the shelter 15 minutes before the blast-off. The precautionary measures are explained by the particularly explosive nature of the hydrogen/oxygen fuel mixture for the giant rocket booster, which is especially explosive.

The spaceship's on-board computer system switched on at 5:49. This means that man can no longer interfere in the pre-launch preparation processes. The craft will itself decide whether to give a command for the launch or to halt it. The last minute...platforms and service towers dislocate from the rocket. Now a giant fire ball rises over the steppe, the rocket is separated from the launch installation and several seconds later cuts through low clouds in its fiery ascent into orbit. In two minutes and a half it is already at an altitude of 60 kilometers. Eight minutes from the launch the space orbiter separates from the central core of the booster rocket at an altitude of 100 km. At this moment the gleaming point on the screen of the mission control center is moving eastward, somewhere over southern Siberia.

The orbiter keeps picking up speed. The spacecraft's own propulsion unit fires at an altitute of 160 kilometers and by two impulses accelerates it to orbital speed.

At 6:47 the Buran reaches its calculated 250-kilometer circular orbit. It now flies over the Pacific Ocean, to the west of the southern tip of the South American Continent. Telemetry on the operation of the on-board systems arrives continually at mission control center. To reach the center it is relayed via ground monitoring stations on Soviet territory, communications satellites, and research ships off the shores of Africa and South America. Once received by mission control center near Moscow, this information is instantly processed by computers and flashes on operators' displays. Analyzing it, specialists project the trajectory of the orbiter's movement and the state of its on-board systems.

At the end of the first spin, when the spacecraft was over Africa, its on-board computer system had already determined the parameters of the final part of the flight, including the necessary braking intensity for the craft's descent from orbit.

8:20. The craft turns with its tail forward, fires the propulsion unit and begins to descend. At an altitude of 100 kilometers it re-enters the atmosphere and at an altitude of 40 kilometres switches to aerodynamic deceleration with the aid of elevons and air brakes, gliding just like an ordinary aircraft. The Buran, which is now accompanied by an optico-television monitoring aircraft, approaches the 4.5-kilometer landing strip, located 12 kilometers from the launch site. It touches down on concrete at a speed of 340 kilometers per hour and stops after rolling for half a minute or so. The first test flight of the Buran has been successfully completed.

Gorbachev: 'Major Success'

LD1511130588 Moscow TASS in English 1211 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Orel November 15 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev described the hitch-free maiden flight of the Soviet reusable orbiter Buran (Snowstorm) today as a major success for Soviet science and technology.

Speaking at a conference here, he said it has further confirmed the vast possibilities the Soviet Union has for performing any tasks.

After blasting off in the morning Buran circled the Earth twice before safely touching down in a pilotless mode.

Military

Chebrikov Attends Militia Day Celebration

LD1011230088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A celebration meeting in Moscow was dedicated to the Day of the Soviet Militia. In the Presidium were Comrade Chebrikov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, and other officials. USSR Minister of the Interior Bakatin presented a report.

Benefits Urged for 'Internationalist' Veterans

*WA18010148 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Nov 88 p 6*

[Letter from A. Kozyrev; "Not Only About the 'Afghans'"]

[Text] An extensive and serious discussion of the problems of internationalist soldiers is being conducted in the press. But currently the term refers only to the "Afghans." Yes, to their lot fell serious trials. But that does not mean, in my opinion, that we must not pay attention to our other soldiers. Didn't my brother in his time in China fulfill the very same obligation? And the Soviet volunteers who fought in Spain, the soldiers who helped in the struggle against the counterrevolution in Hungary? I bow my head before our boys who have suffered in Afghanistan. But I also remember the obligation that fell upon my generation. I was obliged to participate in the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Believe me, they too were costly to many of our boys. Today only the participants recall this. In the papers in those days they did not come close to writing about everything. To this day our history contains a multitude of unmentioned facts.